FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT Weatherman

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 1

SERIALS 1

to

60

[redacted] b7c

037

AC, New York

8/20/62

Director, FBI

[redacted]

OMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENTS FOR
EMOCRATIC SOCIETY
NTERNAL SECURITY - C

S.D.S

ReNYlet 7/31/62 captioned

[redacted] b7c

[redacted]

b1

CLASSIFIED BY SPAKE
EXEMPT FROM GDS
CATEGORY 5B
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

In view of the above, New York and Detroit
should review available information for any indication
that the CP is attempting to infiltrate the SDS. All
legal informants and established sources should be
contacted in this regard. The results of your review
should be furnished to the Bureau, utilizing the caption
of this communication, immediately along with any
recommendations regarding the initiation of an active
investigation concerning the SDS.

Information concerning activities of the SDS
should not be submitted to the Bureau under the caption
of this letter. The COMINFIL caption should be utilized
where you have specific information indicating
Communist infiltration.

2 - Detroit (ACT - 9)

100- [illegible]

EX-116

REC- 61

19 AUG 13 1962

[illegible]

[illegible]

TELETYPE UNIT

038

In the event you feel that a COMINFIL
stigation in this matter is warranted, you are
ioned that such an investigation cannot be
ucted without specific prior Bureau authority.

CONFIDENTIAL

4-528

100-439048- 2

CHANGED TO

100-439048-15-1

MAR 3 1967

100-8047

[redacted]

b1

On 8/29/62, SA [redacted] reviewed the records of the Bureau of Special Services, NYCPD, and found them to contain no information indicating the CP infiltration of the SDS. b7c

On 5/5/62 [redacted] of a pamphlet issued by the SDS, to [redacted] office. This pamphlet was dated [illegible]/62, headed "Convention Bulletin Number 1" and reflected the address of the SDS as being 112 East 19 Street, New York 13, New York. It described the SDS as having functioned throughout its history as the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) and stated that the principal source of support for the SDS was the LID.

NY 1 148047

According to a report of the Special Comm e on Un-American Activities, United States Hous f Representatives, Volume 1, page 683, in 1905, the r-Collegiate Socialist Society, later known as th eague for Industrial Democracy, was organized for t purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in So lism among college men and women, graduates and u rgraduates.

The bulletin reflected the purposes of the SDS w as follows:

"1) to develop among students a concern for conte rary social, political and economic problems, looki both to immediate remedial programs and to a broad view of an humane social order where such problems would t exist.

"2) to build a movement of University reform seeki to establish conditions of academic freedom and i rnal democracy and to make the academic commu y a creative and penetrating force confronting the polit l and moral complexities of our time.

"3) to promote educated participation in movem s of civil rights, civil liberties, and peace on th ampus and the extension of these movements into adult community, particularly with the view of co sing such potentially allied interests as labor armer, minority group into a unified progressive force American politics.

"4) to serve as a democratic initiative again those forces of reaction that would respond to inter ional and domestic challenge with military initi ve, Pseudo-patriotism, and with an anti-labor, anti- fare defense of outmoded economic and political privi e."

hoped The bulletin further stated that it was manife t at the coming convention of the SDS " would be adopted which would provide a much n ed statement of conviction and program for the young t in America.

develop A review of the files of the NYO has not any information which would indicate that the SDS is e object of CP infiltration or that the SDS it f should be investigated. In view of the above inform on, it is recommended that no active invest tion of the SDS be initiated at this time.

develop In the event that further information is , which would indicate the CP is attempting to inf ate the SDS, or that the SDS should be invest ted, the Bureau will promptly be advised and furthe recommendations made at that time.

942

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

July 12, 1963

Mr. J. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen (Attn: [redacted])
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - [redacted]

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] called at the [redacted] b2&
Bureau on 7/[illegible]/63 where he talked to [redacted] b7C
Domestic Intelligence Division.

[redacted] stated he had information concerning a convention of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held 6/14-17/63 at Camp Gulliver, Pine Hill, New York. He stated he also had a large number of pamphlets and papers which were either passed out or sold at the convention. In fact, [redacted] had with him two large brief cases about the size of suitcases which were filled with various pamphlets and papers. [redacted] claimed that SDS is the youth organization of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID). b7C

[redacted] attend the SDS convention to secure information concerning the convention's proceedings as well as copies of all literature that "he could lay his hands on." [redacted] advised that he wanted the Bureau to know he had this information and material; that he was going to prepare a report concerning same; and that upon completion of his report he would furnish a copy to the Cincinnati Office. During the conversation, [redacted] made reference to the communist infiltration of SDS but when pressed for specifics was unable to furnish any. [redacted] furnished a leaflet announcing the SDS convention as well as a copy of the roster of the individuals in attendance at the convention. (These two items are attached to the copy of instant memorandum which is designated for the SDS file.) b7C

Regarding the SDS convention, [redacted] stated that several announcements and talks were given regarding demonstrations by Negroes on the civil rights issue which were to take place in the latter part of June in Boston and Baltimore and further observed that such demonstrations had taken place as announced at the convention. b7C

REC-38

100-439043-1

Enc. 2 ENCLOSURE ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

NOT RECORDED
189 JUL 24 1963

89-01[illegible]

1 - (11-524 League for Industrial Democracy)
1 - 100-439[illegible] (Students for a Democratic Society)

(10) 54 FEB 7 1970

100-439048-4

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan

[redacted] b7c

043

[redacted] b7d

A check of Bufiles discloses that neither SDS nor LID are under investigation at the present time. Bufile 61-524 discloses that LID was formed in 1905 for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in civilism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates. We conducted an investigation of LID in the past; however, this investigation was closed as there was no indication it was controlled by the Communist Party. In 1962 we instructed the New York Office to determine whether there was any infiltration of SDS. New York letter 9/10/[illegible] (100-439548-3) advised that a review of its files and a check with all logical informants and sources did not develop any information that SDS was the object of infiltration by the Communist Party or that it had been so infiltrated. [redacted] b7c

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that:

1. The attached airtel be transmitted to [redacted] advising of [redacted] submit to the Bureau and that he stated he would make a copy of his report concerning the SDS convention available to that office.

2. That this memorandum be routed to the Records Branch in order that the names of the individuals in attendance at the SDS convention be indexed for future reference. The roster containing those names be attached to the copy of instant memorandum designated for the SDS file.

ROSTER FOR THE 1963 SDS CONVENTION (chapters in parentheses)

—Howard Abra[illegible], 6921 Oglesby, Chicago, Illinois (Voice)
—Stanley Ar[illegible]itz, 115 Park Street, NY, NY. (speaker)

Jeffrey Bar[illegible]t, 1645 Grand Concourse, Bronx, New York
Thomas Bar[illegible], 3404 Powetton Road, Philidelphia 4, Pa. (Observer from YPSL)
—Shelley Blu[illegible], 2076 Turnbull Ave., Bronx, New York
Paul Booth, [illegible]30 New Hampshire Ave., Washington, D.C. (SDS Vice-President; Swarthmore)
—Joan Bowman, [illegible]631 LaVeuda Road, Berkeley, 9, Calif.
Nancy Bradb[illegible], 92 Christopher Street, NY, NY
Peter Brand[illegible], 115 Russell Avenue, Watertown, Mass.
Raymond S. [illegible]own, 15 Abingdon Square, New York, NY (speaker)
Joan C. Br[illegible]ing, 209 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.
Mary Bugbee, [illegible] Conn., 10 Garden Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Robb Burlag[illegible], 115 Russell Avenue, Watertown, Mass. (National Executive Committee)
Tony Canelo[illegible], 608 Franklin St. Cambridge, Mass. (Observer from YSA)
M'Lou Carin[illegible], 3292 Bayfield Blvd., Oceanside, NY. (Wheaton)
Joe Chabot, [illegible]. #3, Box 308, Benton Harbor, Michigan (Voice)
Penelope Ch[illegible]upka, 342 Downing Rd., Riverside, Illinois (U. of Illinois)
Nada Chandl[illegible], 66 OverHill Rd., Providence, Rhode Island
Arthur Ches[illegible]ck, 3108 Bancroft Rd., Baltimore 15, Md. (Johns Hopkins)
Joan Countr[illegible]n, 207 W. 106th St., NY, NY.
Peter Count[illegible]an, " " " " " " (summer) (speaker)
Andrea Cous[illegible], Silvermine Road, New Canaan, Conn.
—Judy Cowan, [illegible]37 Greenwood, Chicago 37, Illinois (National Executive Committee)

Peggy Damro[illegible], 4 Mt. Warren Street, Roxbury, Mass.
Karen Davis, [illegible]759 Lincoln Blvd., Long Beach, NY (Voice)
Rennard Dav[illegible], Bluemont, Va. (University of Illinois)
Dorothy Daw[illegible], 2026 37th Street, Washington, D.C. (summer)
—Noel Day, 2[illegible] Townsend Street, Roxbury, Mass. (speaker)
Cecily Dell, [illegible]289 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.
Theresa Del[illegible]zzo, 220 West 98th St., NY, NY
Amy Delsón, [illegible] Park Avenue, New York, NY
James Donal[illegible]n, Route 2, Box 126, Urbana, Illinois (U. of Illinois)
Paul A. DuB[illegible], 191 Madison Street, NY, NY (speaker)
Joseph Dumb[illegible]er, 3931 Ledgewood Drive, Cincinnati, Ohio

—Alan Ehrlich, [illegible]117 East 55th St. Brooklyn, NY (Voice)
Robert Engl[illegible] Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY (speaker)

Corinna Fal[illegible] Lin[illegible] University, Pa. (school: Goucher College)
Oliver Fein, [illegible]52 High Street, Hastings, NY
—Nina Felshin, [illegible]27 W. 96th Street, NY, NY (Brandeis)
—David Finem[illegible], 6006 Greene Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mickey Flack[illegible], 536 South Fourth, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Mike Flacks, [illegible]36 South Fourth, Ann Arbor, Michigan (National Executive Committee)
—Barry Foner, [illegible]8-28 196 Place, Queens, NY (Brandeis)
Hannah Fran[illegible], 265 Fellsway, Boston, Mass. (Boston University)
Rudy Frank, [illegible]anicaken, New York (U. of Illinois)
Betty Garman, [illegible]2809 Carleton Street, Berkely, California (National Executive Committee)
—Barbara Ger[illegible], 174 E. 74th, NYC, NY. (Vassar)
—Robert Gilm[illegible], 219 E. 18th, NY, NY. (speaker)
Todd Gitlin, [illegible]41 Metropolitan Avenue, NY 62, NY
Virginia Gol[illegible]er, 196-05c 67 Avenue, NY, NY.
? Donald Gold[illegible]in, 4609 Rosedale Avenue, Boston, Mass.
—Arthur Gorso[illegible], 309 E. 9th, NY, NY (speaker)
Carole Goodw[illegible], 460 Blaine, Bradley, Illinois (U. of Illinois)

[redacted] b7c

REC-38

Sho[illegible] Grou[illegible]rf, 103 St. Marks Place, New York 9, New York

Philip Habor[illegible] Windmill Farm, Armonk, New York
[illegible]mberg[illegible] 42-1543 Ave., Long Island City, New York (Voice)
Tom Hargadon[illegible] 12 Russell Street, Waltham, Mass.
Dave Hartsou[illegible], 245 Second Street, N.E. Washington 2, D.C.
Andy Hawley, [illegible]10 North Ingalls, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Voice)
Tom Hayden, [illegible]5 Arch Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan (SDS President)
Geoffrey Hay[illegible]rth, 228 Eldridge Street, New York, New York
Gail Hitchco[illegible], University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
? J. Houston, [illegible]0 East Front Street, Plainfield, New Jersey (Boston)
Richard Huto[illegible]son, 807 North Goodwin, Urbana, Illinois (Univ. of Illinois)
Doug Irelan[illegible] RFD #1, Plymouth, Mass.

Sharon Joffe[illegible], 31 Wiatt Hall, Temple Univ., Phil., Pa.
Nancy Jervis, [illegible]615 West Chester Street, Long Beach, New York (Vassar)
Paula Joffe, [illegible]0 Charlton Street, New York, New York
Byron Johnso[illegible] 6519 Bannock Burn Drive, Bethesda, Maryland (Speaker)
Steven Johns[illegible], 218 East 18th Street, New York 3, New York
Mrs. Clara J[illegible]es, 98 Packard, West Somerville, Mass. (Observer from NSM)
Harlon Joye, [illegible]13 East 13th Street, New York 9, New York

Chris Kindor[illegible] 920 Rodding Road, Fairfield, Conn.
Jerry Kirk, [illegible]42 Fair Oaks, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Marcia Kirkp[illegible]rick, 3510 Hamilton, Phil., Pa.
C. Clark Kis[illegible]nger, 1114 St. James Court, Madison, Wisconsin (Observer from Studies of the Left)
Judy Kissing[illegible], 1114 St. James Court, Madison, Wisconsin
Sid Klawensk[illegible] 3409-14 Ave, Queens, New York
Brewster Kno[illegible], Box 271, Nyack, New York (Observer from FOR)
Elliot Koter[illegible] 2733 Barker Ave., Bronx, New York

Susan Laidle[illegible] 250 West 102 St., New York 25, New York
Jim Lessar, [illegible]iversity of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois (Illinois)
Charles Love[illegible]tein, 337 Weston Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
Eden Ross L[illegible]on, 9 Circle Way, Sea Cliff, New York
Ricky Lulof[illegible] 200 West 88th Street, New York, New York

Dick Magido[illegible] 220 West 107 th Street, New York, New York (Voice)
Ronald Manh[illegible]er, 647, West Walton, Detroit, Michigan
Marvin Mark[illegible], 210 Moserole Street, New York, New York (Observer from Progressive Youth Organizing Committee)

[illegible] McDorm[illegible], 4525 Henry Hudson Parkway, Bronx 71, New York
[illegible]y, 2912 Eighth Street, Washington, D.C.
[illegible] " " " " "
[illegible], 318 Hathcote Road, Scarsdale, NY (Wilson College)
[illegible]g, 73-10 178 Street, Flushing 66, NY
[illegible] 626 Josephine, Berkeley, California
Daniel Mill[illegible]no, 416 W. 96th Street, NY, NY (FOR-Four Freedoms Club)
Kimberly Mo[illegible], 831 Lake Drive, Baltimore, Md. (Johns Hopkins)
Sarah Murph[illegible] 26 Sidney Place, Brooklyn (FOR-Four Freedoms Club)

Stanley Na[illegible] 387 Grand Street, c/o Sanderoff, NY, NY. (Voice)
Jack Newfie[illegible] 31 Vernon Avenue, Brooklyn, NY
Nicholas No[illegible]s, 493 Gay Street, Westwood, Mass. (Boston U.)

Diane Ofstr[illegible]ky, 2512 Oswego Ave, Baltimore, Maryland (John Hopkin's)
Benjamin Pa[illegible] 40 Mcculloch Ave., Morristown, New Jersey (Boston)
Charlotte P[illegible]lipe, 17 Pin. Drive, Roosevelt, New Jersey
Paul Potter, [illegible]outc 4, Charlotte, Michigan (Voice) (spokker)

Alison Raph[illegible], 118 Heathcote Road, Scarsdale, New York (Wilson College)
Harold Ritch[illegible], 226 Linda Ave., Berkeley, California
John Roberts, 82-18 Henley Road, Queens, New York
Sumner Roson, Simmons College, Boston, Mass. (Spoaker)
Bob Ross, 4[illegible] Packard, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Nation Executive Committee, Voice)
Judith Ryan, 191 Madison Street, New York 2, New York

Ken Sanders, 1823 34th Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
Mark Schur, [illegible]nter College, New York (hunter)
Mike Schwartz, 2635 A Fulton, Berkeley 4, California (Observer from SLATE)
Joe Schwartz, 2635 A Fulton, Berkeley 4, California
Jonathan Sc[illegible]n, 3046 Beckett Road, Cleveland 20, Ohio
Barry Shapo[illegible], c/o 116University Place, New York, New York (Observer from YSA)
Gene Sherman, 825 East 175th Street, New York, New York (Observer from Progressive Youth Organizing Committo)

Dick Shortt, 68-206 69th Ave., Flushing, New York
Hamish Sinc[illegible]ir, 96 Greenwich Ave., New York (Observer from WBAI)
Sudy Singer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
David Sommer, 156 Lamartine Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass (Boston U.)
Karin Sommer, " " " " " " " "
Walter Sout[illegible], 410 W. 110th St., NY, NY
Barbara Ste[illegible]berg, 184-18 64 Avenue, Flushing, NY (Voice)
Cliff Stewa[illegible], 99-45 60th Avenue, Flushing, NY (U. of Illinois)
Sally Suski[illegible], 1420 Amsterdam Avenue, NY. NY
Ron Szoke, [illegible]2, Box 27, Elgin, Illinois (U. of Illinois)
Al Szymansk[illegible] Box 275, Kingston, Rhode Island

Marilyn Tol[illegible], 1779 Elm Street, Manchester, N.H.
Judy Thibo[illegible] 1289 Commonwealth, Boston, Mass.

Mary Varol[illegible] 302 Woodland Drive, Wilmington, Del./SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta

Monroe Was[illegible] 1639 Monroe Avenue, Bronx, NY
Arthur Wash[illegible], Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C. (speaker)
Loretta Wa[illegible]nd, 522 W. Arwitage, Chicago, Illinois (Young Christian Students)
Lee Webb, [illegible], 100 Summit Avenue, Brookline, Mass. (Boston U.)

STAFF

[illegible]

SDS, 312 East 19th Street, NY 3, NY

LATE REGIS[illegible]TION OR INADVERTENTLY OMITTED
Mike Applo[illegible] 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.
Magdalene [illegible]dt, 4856 Third, Detroit, Michigan
Albert Bl[illegible]thal, c/o New York State Assembly, Albany, New York
Barbara W[illegible]n, 84 Prospect Avenue, Douglas, 63, NY
Jim Weinst[illegible], c/o Studios on the Loft, Planetarium Station, New York, NY (speaker)
A.J. Must[illegible] Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, NY, NY (speaker)
Charles [illegible], 3006 Washington Square, Austin, Texas
Emanuel [illegible]vchik, c/o Jewish Labor Committee, [illegible] 77th, NY. (Observer from [illegible] for In-Stitute)

Announcing

THE 1963 CONVENTION

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIET

14-17 JUNE 1963 Camp Gulliver, Pine Hill, N.Y.

REGISTRATION FORM

clip and send to: Students for a Democratic Society, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3.

Name _____ School & Year _____

Current address _____

My address after _____ (date) will be _____

___ I plan to attend the Convention; enclosed is $ _____ toward the $20 convention cost.

___ I will not be able to afford the entire $20, but can attend if I receive a subsidy of _____ (amount).

___ I plan to drive. I will have room for ____ others, leaving from _____ (place).

___ I would like a ride from _____ (place).

CONVENTION AGENDA

Thursd night, June 13:
Arr l and registration

Friday, ne 14:
Fecu n the "New Left" in America, panel discussions with stud and adult leaders on the Cold r, the campus, the emerging w Left, and strategies of soci change available to it.

Saturda nd Sunday, June 15-16:
The erican Scene, 1963--and our sponse to it. Workshop and plen discussions of strategy and ctics for the student community, culminating in a resolution n the problems and possibilit s of the American scene.

Monday, ne 17:
Cons ration of specific resolutic , constitutional business, elec ns, other business.

Tuesday June 18:
Post onvention National Executive mittee meeting nearby, if u le to be concluded the day fore.

COSTS

Registration for the Convention will be a maximum of $20, which includes all food and housing. If more than 100 people attend, the average registration fee will drop proportionately. We hope to be able to accumulate some surplus to pay for special guests and to give a partial rebate to those with high travel expenses (e.g., from Texas or California), but this depends on total attendance and success in raising outside financing.

Transportation costs from New York City to Pine Hill, New York, by bus will be $5.15 one-way and $9.30 round-trip.

PREPARATION

Pre-convention documents, including the draft of the convention document, will be sent before schools are out to all on the mailing list. They should be studied and brought.

GENERAL A NOUNCEMENT

By our arrangement with the camp owner, we shall have to supply our own bedding; therefore come prepared, with a sleeping bag or blankets, and sheets. The National Office will try to accumulate some extra, but this will be primarily for unexpected visitors and those in great need.

TRANSPORTATION

Pine Hill, New York, (site of Camp Gulliver) is approximately 80 miles up the Hudson River from New York City, near Woodstock and between Kingston and Saugerties. It is quite convenient to the New York Thruway; those needing more information and unable to obtain it from the road maps should contact the National Office.

From New York there are buses leaving the Port Authority Bus Terminal (40th Street & 8th Avenue) every day at 3:30 P.M. and 8:00 A.M.. Running time is three hours. Cost is $5.15 one way and $9.30 round trip. (On Fridays there is an extra bus at 6:15 P.M.). Buses return daily at 10:55 A.M. and 5:20 P.M., with an extra Sunday evening run at 7:20 P.M..

Anyone who is driving from anywhere to Pine Hill, especially from New York City, should contact the National Office. If you are looking for a ride you should also let us know.

We'll see you on June 13th!

CONVENTION AGENDA

Thursday, night, June 13:
Arrival and registration

Friday, June 14:
Focus on the "New Left" in America...panel discussions with student and adult leaders on the Cold War, the campus, the emerging New Left, and strategies of social change available to it.

Saturday and Sunday, June 15-16:
The American Scene, 1963--and our response to it. Workshop and plenary discussions of strategy and tactics for the student community, culminating in a resolution on the problems and possibilities of the American scene.

Monday, June 17:
Consideration of specific resolutions, constitutional business, elections, other business.

Tuesday, June 18:
Post convention National Executive Committee meeting nearby, if unable to be concluded the day before.

GENERAL A

By our arrangement with the
supply our own bedding; the
sleeping bag or blankets, a
will try to accumulate some
marily for unexpected visit

REPRESENTATION

The SDS National Executive Committee has decided on the following rules for deciding the basis of representation and voting at the Convention:

1) Any SDS member has the right to a single vote plus up to four additional votes by proxy. Proxies must be sent to the national office by June 7.

2) Chapters may elect delegates on the basis of one per five SDS members in the chapter. Chapters will be notified of how many members they have recorded in the national office records. But note that:

3) Any SDS member in a chapter may decide, at any time, to withdraw from being counted as being in that chapter for purposes of calculating Convention representation. If he attends the Convention he automatically votes for himself and thus is not included in the chapter representation. If he will not be at the Convention he must notify the office of his decision so that the chapter representation may be adjusted.

If you have any questions on the above, write the National Office.

COSTS

Registration for the Convention will be a maximum of $20, which includes all food and housing. If more than 100 people attend, the average registration fee will drop proportionately. We hope to be able to accumulate some surplus to pay for special guests and to give a partial rebate to those with high travel expenses (e.g., from Texas or California), but this depends on total attendance and success in raising outside financing.

Transportation costs from New York City to Pine Hill, New York, by bus will be $5.15 one-way and $9.30 round-trip.

PREPARATION

Pre-convention documents, including the draft of the convention document, will be sent before schools are out to all on the mailing list. They should be studied and brought.

NOUNCEMENT

camp owner, we shall have to
efore come prepared, with a
d sheets. The National Office
xtra, but this will be pri-
rs and those in great need.

040 July 16, 1963

Airtel

100-439048-4

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen (Attn: [redacted])
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 [redacted] b7c

To: [redacted] (100-11382)

From: Director, FBI (62-99405)

[redacted] b7c

On 7/11/63 [redacted] appeared at the Bureau where he tal[illegible]d with a representative of the Domestic Intelligence Divis[illegible]. [redacted] stated he had voluminous information and liter[illegible]re concerning the 1963 convention of the Students for a [illegible]emocratic Society which was held from 6/14 to 17/63 at Cr[illegible] Gulliver, Pine Hill, New York. [redacted] stated he wante[illegible] the Bureau to know he had this information; that he wa[illegible] going to prepare a report on the convention upon his r[illegible]urn [redacted] and that he would furnish your offic[illegible] a copy of the report upon completion. In the event [redacted] furnishes your office a copy, it should be reviewed and [illegible]ummary of its contents furnished the Bureau and inte[illegible]ted offices under the appropriate substantive case captl[illegible]. In addition, the Bureau should be furnished a comp[illegible]e copy of the report itself. b7c

[redacted] b7d

No statements were made to [redacted] indicating [illegible]al, disapproval or encouragement regarding this matter.

[illegible]-524 (League for Industrial Democracy)
[illegible]-439048 (Students for a Democratic Society)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOTE:

See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan dated [illegible]/12/63, same caption, JHKtmar

JHK[illegible]r

AUG [illegible] 1963

Airtel to [redacted] b7d

A check of Bufiles discloses that neither Students for a Democratic Society nor its parent organization League for Industrial Democracy (LID) are under investigation at the present time. Bufile discloses that LID was formed in 1905 for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates. We conducted an investigation of LID in the past; however, this investigation was closed as there was no indication it was controlled by the Communist Party (CP). In 1962 we instructed the New York Office to determine whether there was any infiltration of Students for a Democratic Society. New York letter 8/10/62 advised that a review of its files and a check with all logical informants and sources did not develop any information that Students for a Democratic Society was the object of infiltration by the CP or that it had been so infiltrated.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/8/63

FROM: SAC [redacted] (100-0) (EUC)

EX-115

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: New York)

REC-54

Re Bureau airtel to [redacted] 7/16/63, captioned, [redacted] which indicated he had contacted the Bureau and mentioned having voluminous information and literature on the 1963 Convention of the captioned organization (which is not under investigation for CP infiltration at the present time). [redacted] b7c

Enclosed is an 81 page report of captioned convention for the Bureau, per reairtel; a copy of same is enclosed for New York, and also a xerox copy of the roster of those in attendance at Camp Gulliver, Pine Hill, New York, from 6/14 - 17/63, are enclosed for the Bureau and New York. There is enclosed a xerox copy of re Bureau airtel for the information of New York. Xerox copies of NOEL DAY's talk on 6/14/63, at the convention are enclosed for the information of Boston.

On 7/15/63, [redacted] b7d

[redacted] provided 11 dictaphone belts of this convention's proceedings to SA [redacted] stated the belts were the report which he was furnishing the FBI." On 7/17/63, the [redacted] and one transcription thereof were returned to [redacted] at his request [redacted] b7c

[redacted] to the convention and the latter [redacted]

2 - Bureau (Enc - 2) (RM) EX 104 REC-25
2 - New York (100-148067) (Enc - 3) (RM) 100-448048
2 - Boston [redacted] (Enc - 1) (Info) (RM) b7c
2 - [redacted] 1 - 100-0) (SDS) [redacted]
(1 - [redacted] b7c

AUG 9 1963

LBS:
SEC. 0 - CIA [redacted]

had di[redacted]tated the belts. On 7/24/63, [redacted] made available b7d
correc[redacted]ions by [redacted] on the transcribed report and similar b7c
entri[redacted] were made on the two enclosed reports for the Bureau
and Ne[redacted] York.

[redacted] b7d

had no[redacted]pecific information of CP infiltration or control of the
NSA.

The Bureau, New York, and Boston, will note that the
enclos[redacted] convention "report" on pages 28 to 33, mentions a talk
by NOE[redacted]DAY, Boston, Massachusetts, which appears to be the
only i[redacted]m for dissemination and this was done to the Bureau and
Boston [redacted]y [redacted]etter and letterhead memorandum, dated
6/19/63 [redacted] under the caption, "Racial Situation, Boston Division;
Racial [redacted]atters." The copies of DAY's talk are enclosed for
Boston [redacted] information.

The "reports" of [redacted] gives the views of various b7C
speaker[redacted] at captioned organization's convention on social,
economi[redacted], and political questions of the day and how to improve
the cou[redacted]ry and the world, mainly from the viewpoint of the
"new le[redacted]," a new view not defined, and/or a socialistic
viewpoi[redacted]. It appears that promoting socialism is the main
purpose [redacted]of this organization among youth and others who also
discuss[redacted] how their socialistic program could be furthered by
the use [redacted]of current civil rights demonstrations.

A Table of Contents was prepared and attached to this
"report[redacted] and therein are listed the newly elected officers and
nationa[redacted] executive council members.

[redacted] The New York Office is requested to review this report
[redacted]S Convention and particularly note the new officials of
[redacted]DS wit[redacted]n view to deciding whether or not the closed status of
[redacted]he New [redacted]ork case on this organization should continue.

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 9/9/63

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)(P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

R[redacted] letter to Director, 8/8/63.

For information on 7/11/63, [redacted] b7d appeared at the Bureau, where he talked with a representative of the Domestic Intelligence Division. He advised he had voluminous information and literature concerning the 1963 convention of captioned organization which was held from 6/14 - 6/17/63, at Camp Gulliver, Pine Hill, NY.

[redacted] b7d

SA [redacted] provided dictaphone belts of the proceedings of the above mentioned convention. b7C

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (RM)
2 - Baltimore (RM)
2 - Boston (RM)
2 - Detroit (100-17133) (RM)
2 - Philadelphia (RM)
2 - Richmond (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
2 - Springfield (RM)
2 - Washington Field
1 - New York (100-148047)

JET:mm
(21)

REC-21

100-439048-6

EX-103

SEP 11 1963

57 SEP 23 1963

NY 1[illegible]-148047

[redacted] b7d b7c

conv[illegible]tion, and the latter had dictated the [illegible] to the the [illegible]anscriptions were reviewed by [redacted] After the [illegible]port were provided the Bureau and the NYO. copies of

SDS [illegible]nvention with a view toward advising whether or not the [illegible]osed status of this case on the SDS should continue. NY was requested to review the report on the

Part of the report included the results of the elec[illegible]on of officers of the SDS which election was held 6/16/[illegible]3. Among the officers elected were the following:

President - TODD GITLIN, 1641 Metropolitan Ave., NY 62[illegible] NY. It is noted that the roster for the 1963 SDS Conve[illegible]tion listed GITLIN as a member of the Harvard Chapt[illegible]r. Harvard University is located in Cambridge, Massa[illegible]husetts.

Vice President - PAUL BOOTH, 1730 New Hampshire Ave., [illegible]ashington, DC. It is noted that the roster for the 1963 [illegible]DS Convention listed BOOTH as a member of the Swart[illegible]more Chapter. Swarthmore College is located in Swart[illegible]more, Pennsylvania.

National Executive Council Members -

ROBB BURLAGE, 115 Russell Ave., Watertown, Mass. It i[illegible]noted that the roster for the 1963 SDS Convention liste[illegible] BURLAGE as a member of the Harvard Chapter.

DICK FLACKS, 536 South 4th, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

NY 2[illegible]-148047

RENNARD DAVIS, Bluemont, Virginia. It is noted that the roster for the 1963 SDS Convention listed DAVIS as a member of the University of Illinois Chapter. The University of Illinois is located in Urbana, Ill.

HETTY GARMAN, 2119 Carleton St., Berkeley, California. GARMAN, during the course of this convention, stated that she was on the National Student Association Administration and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

PAUL POTTER, Charlotte, Michigan. During the course of the convention, POTTER indicated that he was National Office Vice President of the National Student Association, and a member of the Voice Chapter of the SDS.

KIMBERLY MOODY, 831 Lake Drive, Baltimore, Maryland. It is noted that the roster for the 1963 SDS Convention listed MOODY as a member of the Johns-Hopkins Chapter. Johns-Hopkins University is located in Baltimore, Maryland.

MARY VARELA, 302 Woodland Drive, Wilmington, Delaware. It is noted that the roster for the 1963 SDS Convention listed VARELA as being affiliated with SNCC, [illegible] Raymond St., Atlanta, Georgia.

LEE WEBB, III, 100 Summit Ave., Brookline, Mass. It is noted that the roster for the 1963 SDS Convention listed WEBB as a member of the Boston University Chapter. Boston University is located in Boston, Massachusetts.

JOE CHABOT, Route 3, Box 308, Benton Harbor, Michigan.

It is requested that indices be checked for information pertaining to any CP affiliation on the part of any of the SDS officers listed above who are or have resided in, or have attended educational institutions within the area covered by the respective field divisions.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

Should any pertinent information be developed, this information should be furnished the NYO in a form suitable for dissemination.

Upon receipt of the requested information, the NYO will submit a recommendation to the Bureau with regard to the status of this case.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/3/63

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-42240) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

ReNYlet to Bureau 9/9/63, copies to WFO requesting indices check on PAUL BOOTH, 1730 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Bureau and New York are advised WFO indices reflect PAUL BOOTH, Students for a Democratic Society, was listed among others who participated in a Working Conference on the Politics of Peace held in Washington, D. C., on 1/26 - 27/63. This Conference resulted in the formation of A Peace-Politics Clearing House.

WFO files disclosed that Bureau furnished WFO the above information by routing slip. One Photostat copy of the information made available to WFO by the Bureau is enclosed for New York for information.

No other references are available in WFO concerning PAUL BOOTH.

2-Bureau
2-New York (100-148047) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1-WFO

JEK:jsw
(5)

REC-32 100-439048-7

EX-114

OCT 4 1963

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/3/63

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6538)(RUC)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re New York letter to Bureau, 9/9/63.

Atlanta indices are negative regarding MARY VARI[illegible] referred to in paragraph five, page two of refe[illegible]nced letter.

100-427048-8

C-31

11 OCT 4 1963

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Atlanta
AGS/[illegible]
(5)

OCT 9

INDEXED

DOH COLLECT DIA
NEC.D

4-528

AA-439048-9

CHANGED TO

AA-439048-5-1

M 3 1967

97-71 1970-Amd

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 10/4/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AM (Pm)
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-434591)

FROM SAC, DETROIT (100-30099)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY/STUDENT PEACE UNION
DEMONSTRATION, 10/19/63
WASHINGTON, D. C.
INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY)

Enclose herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of a LHM dated and captioned as above.

[redacted]

Who furnished info to SA [redacted] The Bureau will be appropriately advised of any additional info received concerning University of Mich. participation in this demonstration.

Info copies are furnished WFO and New York in view of apparent New York interest in one of the sponsoring organizations and WFO because of the site of this scheduled demonstration.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 8)
1 - New York (Info) (Enc. - 1)
1 - WFO (Info) (Enc. - 1)
2 - Detroit
1 - 100 (VOICE POLITICAL PARTY, UNIVERSITY OF MICH.)

JRC:GM
(7)

100-437048
NOT RECORDED
FEB 21 1967

EX-101

100-439048-135

11 OCT 5 1963

INCLOSURE

Approved: FEB 27 1967
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Re
File No.

Detroit, Michigan
October 4, 1963

Students for a Democratic
Society, Student Peace
Union, Demonstration,
October 19, 1963
Washington, D.C.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable
inform tion in the past, [redacted] that b1d
Voice olitical Party of the University of Michigan (U of M),
Ann A or, Michigan, a recognized student campus organiza-
tion, ns indicated a desire to support a demonstration to
be he at Washington, D.C., October 19, 1963, whose purpose
will to protest United States policies in South Vietnam.

This scheduled demonstration is to be co-sponsored
by th Students for a Democratic Society and Student Peace
Union It is to call for an end to American aid to the
South ietnamese government, along with United Nation super-
visio of a truce in that country and free elections there.

The source advised the Voice Political Party at U of M
inten to aid in publicizing this demonstration and will offer
to or nize transportation from U of M to Washington, D.C. for
the d onstration. The affair is tantatively scheduled to
invol picketing of the White House on the morning of October
19, 1 3, followed by a public rally that afternoon.

Source advised that neither of the sponsoring student
group for this rally is officially represented at the U of M
altho h he noted the Voice Political Party has an affiliation
with e Students for a Democratic Society. He noted the
latte student organization's headquarters are believed to be
in Ne York City.

ENCLOSURE

Re: [illegible]dents for a Democratic
[illegible]iety, Student Peace Union
[illegible]onstration, October 19, 1963
[illegible]hington, D.C.

Source advised that there is presently no good indic[illegible]on of whether students from the U of M will partic[illegible]ate in this demonstration, and to date no arrangements have [illegible]n made for same.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclu[illegible]ons of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned [illegible]o your agency; it and its contents are not to be distribut[illegible] outside your agency.

TD-76 (Rev. 12-12-56)

FBI

Date: 10/11/63

Transmit the follow in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-434591)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-42240) P.

STUDENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, STUDENT PEACE U ION DEMONSTRATION, 10/19/63, WDC
INFO CO CERNING - IS
(OO:NY)

GEN'L b7C

[redacted]

b7C

VISIT T UNITED STATES OF
MADAME GO DIN NHU
INFO CO CERNING - IS

ReDEairtel & LHM, 10/4/63.

Enclosed for Bureau, DE and NY are eight, one and one cop es respectively of LHM concerning proposed demonstratio 10/18/63 in protest of visit of Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu to U.S.

WFO will disseminate locally to ONI, PRNC; OSI, 4th Distric and MDW-Intelligence.

WFO has advised U.S. Park Police and Protective Researc Secret Service.

Copy to NY in view of NY interest in Students for Democ tic Society.

UACB WFO will cover through established sources only.

ENCLOSURE

Bureau (Enc.8)
1-New k (Enc.1) (RM)
1-Detro (Enc.1) (RM)
2-WFO
(1-10 55744)
(8)

AGENCY
REC. REC'D
DATE FORW. 10-14-63
HOW FORW. RLE
BY
TO OCT 15 1963

100-439048

[redacted]

b7C

C. E. Wick

NOT RECORDED
FEB 21 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-434591
COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

FBI

Date: 10

Transm the following in PLAIN
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

Via b7c
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
(100-434591)

FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)
(100-144163)

SUBJEC STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY;
STUDENT PEACE UNION, DEMONSTRATION
OCTOBER 18 AND 19, 1963,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
INTERNAL SECURITY

b7c

Re NY teletype, 10/17/63.

Enclosed herewith are ten copies of a letterhead memor dum reflecting information concerning plans of Mrs. O DINH NHU to "deposit herself at President Kennedy's doors p" beginning October 16, and plans of the Student Peace nion and Students for a Democratic Society to cooperate in a ss demonstration October 18 and 19 at the White House to pr est continued U.S. support of Diem.

WFO should furnish the Bureau any pertinent information conc ning the above demonstration in memorandum form suit le for dissemination.

reau (Encls. 10) (RM)
- 105-124296) (U.S. Visit of Mme. NGO DINH NHU)
2 - shington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - w York (105-63600) (U.S. Visit of Mme. NGO DINH NHU) (31)
w York (100-144163) (STUDENT PEACE UNION) (412)
w York (100-148047) (STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)(41)

ENCLOSURE

MHB e
(11)

REC-44 EX-100-439048-10

NO OCT 19 1963

INT. SEC.

AGENCY
RECEIVED
DATE FORW.
HOW FORW.
BY

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

UNIT STATES DEPARTMENT OF JU ICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refe
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

October 11, 1963

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY,
STUDENT PEACE UNION DEMONSTRATION,
OCTOBER 19, 1963
WASHINGTON, D.C.

ISIT TO UNITED STATES OF MADAME Ngo Dinh Nhu

On October 11, 1963 [redacted] b7c
advise as follows:

Peter Irons of the Student Peace Union contacted the MP on October 11, 1963, and advised as follows:

The Student Peace Union and the Students for a Democr ic Society will conduct demonstrations in Washington, D.C. o Friday, October 18, 1963, in protest of visit of Madame go Dinh Nhu of South Viet-Nam to the United States. They h e to have 300 participants. They plan to picket in front the White House in Washington, D.C. from 11:00 a.m. to 4:0 p.m. on October 18, ~~1963. They~~ also plan to have a grou at the National Press Building, 14th and F Streets, N.W., shington, D.C. from 11:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. while Madame nu is addressing the National Press Club on the same date.

XEROX

OCT 6 1963

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
October 18, 1963

Re: Students for a Democratic Society,
Student Peace Union, Demonstration
October 18 and 19, 1963,
Washington, D.C.
Information Concerning
Internal Security

The "National Guardian", dated October 17, 1963, page three, contains an article entitled "MRS. NHU EVANGELIZES A U.S. 'SOFT' ON COMMUNISM; The Dragon Lady bites the hand...". This article states that Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of South Vietnam dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, "intended to deposit herself at President Kennedy's doorstep" beginning October 16, 1963, when she traveled to Washington for several speaking engagements. This article further states that two students groups, the Student Peace Union and Students for a Democratic Society, are cooperating on a mass demonstration October 18 and 19, 1963 at the White House to protest continued United States support of Diem. The article states that according to the Student Peace Union, the students are "contemplating some form of civil disobedience" during the protest.

A characterization of the "National Guardian" is attached hereto.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

XEROX
OCT 22 1963

1.

APPENDIX

"NATI AL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publi tions," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, repared and released by the Committee on Un-Americ Activities, United States House of Representatives Washington, D.C., contains the following concerni the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

"1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

PEOPLES BANK & TRUST CO. BLDG.
GRAND HAVEN, MICHIGAN

October 15, 1963

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I recently received from a student attending the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, a letter together with a pamphlet entitled VIET NAM. This student informed me that a meeting open, had been held on the campus, attended by approximately 200 students, and that among the speakers was a professor from the Health Department of the university.

The pamphlet, at the end, had the following addresses:

Student Peace Union,
6029 University Avenue,
Chicago 37, Illinois

Students for A Democratic Society,
112 East 19th Street,
New York, New York

Let me say that the student mailing me this information was not taken by the impassioned pleas, but was amused by the lack of condemnation of the Communists.

Will you kindly advise me (I am also the Municipal Judge of the City of Grand Haven), whether either one or both of the above organizations appear on the list of subversive organizations. We are interested, together with your department, in not only exposing the so-called organizations serving as fronts, but only also we wish to advise our young people what the truth is.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter, and my best wishes for the continued success of your department which, in my humble opinion, is doing this nation a splendid job.

100-432048
NOT RECORDED
134 OCT 27 1963

Yours very truly,
Jacob Ponstein
Jacob Ponstein

JP:j

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-432048-151

NOV 13 1963

S-113 (1-10-61)

Domest[illegible] Intelligence Division

[illegible]RMATIVE NOTE

Date 10-17-63

[illegible]

Information [illegible]garding proposed demonstrati[illegible] by the student groups tele[illegible]onically disseminated 10-17-63 to [illegible]ecret Service, White House Detail [illegible] and State. Washington [illegible]ld Office disseminated this [illegible]formation to Metropolitan Pol[illegible]e Department, Park Police and [illegible].

Secret Servic[illegible]: [redacted] b7C

State: [redacted] b7C

AJD [redacted] b7C

TELETYPE

URGENT 1 17-63 8-18 PM DE

TO DIREC R -14- 100-434591 AND SAC WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM SAC EW YORK 100-148047

STUDENTS OR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, STUDENT PEACE UNION DEMONSTRATION,

OCTOBER GHTEEN AND NINETEEN SIXTY THREE, WASHINGTON DC., INFORMATION

CONCERNI INTERNAL SECURITY.

RE TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED OCTOBER FOUR, SIXTY THREE, SAME

CAPTION US THE DATE OCTOBER EIGHTEEN , SIXTY THREE.

ON GE THREE OF THE NEWSPAPER " NATIONAL GUARDIAN," DATED AT

NEW YORK, OCTOBER SEVENTEEN, SIXTY THREE, APPEARS AN ARTICLE CAPTIONED

" MRS. NH EVANGELIZES A UNITED STATES " SOFT" ON COMMUNISM, THE DRAGON

LADY BITE THE HAND", AUTHOR INDICATED AS JACK A. SMITH. ABOVE ARTICLE

CONTAINS FORMATION INDICATING MRS. NGO DINH NHU IS INTENDING TO VISIT

PRESIDENT KENNEDY ON OCTOBER SIXTEEN, SIXTY THREE. SET FORTH BELOW IS

A PARAGRA FROM THIS ARTICLE....

" T STUDENT GROUPS-- THE STUDENT PEACE UNION AND STUDENTS FOR

A DEMOCRA C SOCIETY--PLANNED A WARM GREETING . " THE ORGANIZATIONS

ARE COOP TING ON A MASS DEMONSTRATION OCTOBER EIGHTEEN AND NINETEEN

AT THE WH E HOUSE TO PROTEST CONTINUED UNITED STATES SUPPORT OF

DIEM. ORDING TO SPU, THE STUDENTS ARE CONTEMPLATING SOME

FORM OF VIL DISOBEDIENCE DURING THE PROTEST.

FOLLOWS...

ACK.....

/R NY ----14--- RM

OCT 25 19

TWO COPIES

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 10/29/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047) (P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

Re [redacted] letter to Director, 8/8/63; NYlet to Director, 9/9/63.

Re [redacted] letter enclosed to NY an 81 page report concerning the 1963 convention of the SDS and requested the NY to review this report particularly noting the new officials of the SDS with a view to deciding whether or not the closed status of the NY case should continue.

A review of this report has been completed and no indication of CP infiltration, domination or control was noted.

ReNYlet requested a number of offices to check indices for information pertaining to any CP affiliation on the part of the SDS officers who are or have resided in, or have attended educational institutes within the area covered by these field divisions.

When receipt of the information requested by referenced NYlet is completed, a recommendation will be made to the Bureau with regard to the status of this case.

2-Bureau (RM)
1-New York

JET:em
(3)

REC-3 100-439048-12

OCT 30 1963

EX-116

4 NOV 5 1963

4-528

[illegible]-45946-13

CHANGED TO

[illegible]-45946-13-2

[illegible] 3 1967

[illegible]

SAC, Springfield (100-10202)

11/18/63

Director, FBI (100-439048)

1 - [redacted] b7C

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Gen'l

ReNYlet 9/9/63.

Both Springfield and San Francisco should, by return mail, furnish the Bureau with a copy of their communication to the New York Office covering the leads set forth in referenced New York letter. Each office is reminded that when leads have been set out for auxiliary offices by a letter to the Bureau, with copies designated for the auxiliary offices, such communications should be answered by a letter to the Bureau with copies designated for the office of origin. Agent personnel should be reminded of the above so that communications of this type will not be necessary in the future.

2 - San Francisco (100-52152)

MAILED 25
NOV 18 1963
COMM-FBI

REC-34 100-439048-14

EX-117

14 NOV 21 1963

2 ENCLOSURES

JAN 27 1963

TELETYPE UNIT

0-1 (Rev. 1-2-63)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC San Francisco (Your file) DATE: 11/8/63

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial ~~100-439048-11~~)

Room No. ~~[illegible]~~

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

☐ Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)

☐ 1. Bureau indicates this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ 2. Date ☐ airtel ☒ letter ☐ submitted
☐ report ☐ letterhead memo ☒ will be submitted Re NY let 9/9/63.

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution

☐ 5. Submit ☐ airtel ☐ letter
☐ report ☐ letterhead memo By

Can RUC info NY by letter 10/28

(Place copy of person and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file)

SERIALIZED ... NOV 12 1963 FBI

GPO 8420 16

ENCLOSURE

0-1 (Rev. 1-2-63)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, [redacted] (Your file _____ DATE: 11/8/63

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-439048-11)

Room No. [redacted]

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

☒ Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

Bufile: no record Springfield [illegible]

☒ 2. Det ☐ airtel ☒ letter ☐ [illegible] ☐ report ☐ letterhead memo ☒ will be submitted Re NY let 9/9/63.

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution

☐ 5. Subm ☐ airtel ☐ letter ☐ report ☐ letterhead memo By _____

(Place copy hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file)

GPO 942018

100-439048-11 14

ENCLOSURE

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Revised 12-58)

To

☑ Director

Att.

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

Date 11/20/63

Bu FILE # 100-439048

Title Students for a Democratic Society

IS-Misc.

(OO: N.Y.)

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign.....Reassign.....

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline.....

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials.....

to

☐ Submit new charge-out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

☐ Recommendation or notation as to action taken.

ENCLOSURE

Teletype to Springfield and San Francisco dated 11/18/63 requesting copy of communications to New York in answer to Nylet 7/9/63. Copy of San Francisco letter to New York is attached hereunto.

☐ See reverse side

SAC Curtis O. Lynch

Office San Francisco

(Registered)

DEC 18

67C

NOV 21 1963

SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047) 10/28/63

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-52152) (RUC)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
OO: NEW YORK

Re New York letter to Bureau, 9/9/63.

A review of the indices of the San Francisco Office relati to BETTY GARMAN, who is mentioned on page 3 of refere ed letter as a member of the National Executive Council of cap oned organization, failed to reveal any CP affiliation or rel d activity on her part.

2 - Ne York (RM)
(2) - Sa rancisco
ECR/lf
(4)

100-439048

4-528

[illegible]-15

CHANGED TO

[illegible]-3-1

JAN 23 1967

[illegible]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: November 20, 1963

FROM: SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10202)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
~~INTERNAL SECURITY~~ MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bulet 11/18/63

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is one copy of Springfield letter to New York dated September 18, 1963.

2 - Bureau (100-439048) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - Springfield (100-10202)
VTH/a
(3)

REC-16 100-439048-16

25 NOV 23 1963

EX-103

SAC, Springfield (100-10202)

Director, FBI (100-439048) — 16

EX-104

C 12A

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

December 24, 1963

1 - [redacted] b7c

Reurlet 11/20/63.

For your information, the enclosure submitted with referenced letter cannot be located at the Bureau and you should, therefore, submit an additional copy of your letter to New York dated 9/18/63 for the completion of Bureau files. This should be handled by return mail.

MAILED 12
DEC 23 1963
COMM-FBI

DEC 1963

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048-11) DATE: 11/27/63

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (100-New) - RUC -

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re New York let to Bureau 9/9/63.

A search of the Richmond Office indices reflects no information concerning RENNARD DAVIS of Bluemont, Virginia, who is listed as a member of the University of Illinois Chapter of captioned organization.

Enclosed for Bureau is O-1 form dated 11/8/63 in this matter.

Info copy furnished Springfield.

ENCLOSURE

(2) Bureau (Enc. 1)(REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - New York (100-148047)(REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Springfield (Info.)(REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Richmond
RE:
(5)
/bwm

100-439048-11

EX-117

DEC 4 1963

DEC 6 1963

0-1 (Rev. 1-2-63)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

[redacted] Richmond (Your file [redacted] DATE: 11/8/63

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial ~~100-439040-11~~)

Room No. 817 RB

SUBJECT: STUDENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

☐ Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ 2. Date ☐ airtel ☒ letter ☐ submitted
☐ report ☐ letterhead memo ☒ will be submitted ReNYlet 9/9/63.

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution

☐ 5. Submit ☐ airtel ☐ letter ☐ report ☐ letterhead memo By

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file)

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ... FILED ... NOV 13 1963 FBI

100-390171-11

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 12/6/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)(P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

ReNYlet to Director, 9/9/63, and Baltimore let to Director, 11/20/63.

ReBAlet advised that KIMBERLY STEVENS MOODY as of December, 1962, was a freshman at Johns Hopkins University, majoring in History and Philosophy. His permanent home residence was listed as 450 Oakdale Ave., Chicago 14, Illinois. He is a white male, born 2/10/40, at Lake Forest, Illinois.

For the info of Chicago, MOODY was listed as a member of the National Executive Council of the SDS, having been elected at the SDS convention 6/16/63.

Page three of reNYlet reflected MARY VARELA, at the time of the SDS convention, listed an address of 302 Woodland Drive, Wilmington, Delaware.

Baltimore and Chicago are requested to review indices for information pertaining to any CP affiliation on the part of the above two mentioned SDS officers.

2 - BUREAU (100-439048)(RM)
2 - BALTIMORE (100-23033)(RM)
2 - CHICAGO (RM)
1 - NEW YORK 100-148047 (41)

REC 27 100-439048-18

JEL:mb
(7)

DEC 9 1963

EX-102

53 DEC 12 1963

STUDENT SENATE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN · OKLAHOMA

[redacted] b7C

Norman, Oklahoma

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau
of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

This is an urgent request for information regarding a group which calls itself "Students For Democratic Society".

The group recently asked for official recognition from the Student Senate of the University of Oklahoma in an effort to bring it on campus. The group received tentative recognition. I objected to recognition of the group at that time due to our lack of information.

After some investigation, it was found out that this group at one time was related to the "League for Industrial Democracy". Our information is incomplete, and we need any and all information that we can obtain concerning this group.

It is necessary that I receive this information by Tuesday December 10th, because the final recognition will be given on the following Thursday. I would also appreciate any information you might have on subversive groups trying to penetrate the college campuses, and all related groups.

100-1

REC-39

5 DEC 9 1963

Sincerely Yours,

[redacted] b7C

College of Arts and Sciences
University of Oklahoma

REC-39 10-[illegible]-19

December 6, 1963

[redacted] b7c

Norman, Oklahoma

Dear [redacted] b7c

Your letter of December 2, 1963, has been received, and I can understand the concern prompting your communication.

With respect to your inquiry concerning the organizations you mentioned, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government, neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Therefore, I trust you will understand why I am not in a position to comment along the lines you have mentioned and hope you will not infer that we do or do not have data in our files relating to these groups.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 6
DEC - 6 1963
COMM-FBI

DEC 3 38 PM '63
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Bufiles reflect no investigation has been conducted by the FBI concerning Students for Democratic Society which was noted to be a student department of the League for Industrial Democracy. A 1938 House Committee on Un-American Activities report reflected the League for Industrial Democracy had been organized for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women graduates and undergraduates.

Tolson
Mohr
Conrad
Callahan
Conroy
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

DEC 2 1963

TELETYPE UNIT

4-528

100-454048-20.21.22

CHANGED TO

100-454048-3-2

100-439048-37-1.2

R 23 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 12/30/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047) (C)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: NY)

Reference [redacted] letter to Director 8/8/63; New York letters to Director 9/9/63, 10/29/63 and 12/6/63.

[redacted] enclosed to New York an 81-page report concerning the 1963 SDS convention and requested the NYO to review this report particularly noting the new officials of the SDS, with a view to deciding whether or not the closed status of the NY case on the SDS should continue.

By reference letters 9/9/63 and 12/6/63 various offices were requested to check indices for information pertaining to any CP affiliation on the part of any of the SDS officers who are or have resided in, or have attended educational institutions within the area covered by the respective field divisions.

These offices have completed the indices checks, as has the NYO, on the individuals residing in or who have attended educational institutions covered by the NYO. No information pertaining to any CP affiliation on the part of the SDS officers was located.

By letter dated 10/29/63, the NYO advised that a review of the above mentioned 81-page report had been completed and no indication of CP infiltration, domination or control was noted in this report.

A review of the files of the NYO has been made concerning the SDS and no indication of CP initiation, domination, infiltration or control was noted. The SDS, along with other organizations including the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Americans for Democratic Action, Student Peace Union, and Advance Youth Organization have joined together to protest by picketing various racial problems, the SACB hearings concerning finance and the visit of Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu to the United States. There is, however, no information available to indicate any CP control or initiation pertaining to the participation of the SDS in these affairs.

100-439048-23

REC-53

D - Bureau (100-439048)
1 - New York (100-148047)
JET:IM
(3)

64 JAN 1964

ncerning the SDS, it is noted that the files of the NYO reflect at on 5/5/62, [redacted] b7d furnished a copy of pamphlet issued by the SDS to the [redacted] Office. This pamphlet was dated 4/25/62, headed "Convention Bulletin Number 1" and reflected the address of the SDS as being 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. It described the SDS as having functioned throughout its history as the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) and stated that the principal source of support for the SDS was the LID.

According to a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Volume 1, page 683, in 1905, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, later known as the League for Industrial Democracy, was organized for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women graduates and undergraduates.

The bulletin reflected the purposes of the SDS were as follows:

) to develop among students a concern for contemporary social, political and economic problems, looking both to immediate remedial programs and to a broader view of an humane social order where such problems would not exist.

) to build a movement of University reform seeking to establish conditions of academic freedom and internal democracy and to make the academic community a creative and penetrating force confronting the political and moral complexities of our time.

) to promote educated participation in movements of civil rights, civil liberties, and peace on the campus and the extension of these movements into the adult community, particularly with the view of coalescing such potentially allied interests as labor, farmer, minority group into a unified progressive force in American politics.

) to serve as a democratic initiative against those forces of reaction that would respond to international and domestic challenges with military initiative, pseudo-patriotism, and with an anti-welfare defense of outmoded economic and political privilege."

[illegible] bulletin further stated that it was hoped that at [illegible] convention of the SDS, a "political manifesto" would [illegible] which would provide a much needed statement of [illegible] and program for the "young left" in America.

[redacted] b7E

[illegible] telephone directory of Manhattan lists the League for Industri[illegible] Democracy at 110 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y., telephon[illegible] AL 4-5865.

[redacted] b7d

[redacted] b7d

[illegible] view of the fact that there is no indication of any CP [illegible] infiltration, domination or control of the SDS, it is [illegible] that no investigation of the SDS be initiated at this time.

[illegible] the event information is received which would indicate that [illegible] attempting to infiltrate, control or dominate the SDS, the Bureau [illegible] be promptly advised and further recommendations made at that ti[illegible]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: December 27, 1963

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10202)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Reurlet 12/24/63.

Enclosed herewith is one copy of Springfield letter to New York, dated September 18, 1963.

1 ENCLOSURE

(2) - Bureau (100-439048) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - Springfield (100-10202)
WTH/alg
(3)

REC-23 100-439048-24

EX-103

DEC 30 1963

BRIAN

SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047) 9/18/63

SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10202) - RUC -

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Reurlet 9/9/63 to Director and other offices.

Springfield indices contain no information identifiable as pertaining to REINHARD DAVIS, Bluemont, Virginia.

2 - New York (100-148047) (RM)
1 - Springfield (100-10202)
WCR:css
(3)

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NC-439048-24

ENCLOSURE

100-10202-5

TO SAC, New York (100-148047) 1/2/64

Director, FBI (100-439048)

1 [redacted] b7c

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Bourlet 12/30/63 placing this matter in a closed status.

You are referred to your letter to the Bureau dated 12/6/63 setting forth leads for Baltimore and Chicago. A review of the Bureau file concerning this matter fails to indicate that a reply has been received from the Chicago Office in answer to your request. You should advise the Bureau whether Chicago has covered the lead set forth by a letter to your office. In the event the lead has not been covered, Chicago should be instructed to do so immediately and you should, of course, maintain your case in a pending status until all leads have been covered.

Advise the Bureau whether you have recieved any information indicating actual attendance of Communist Party members at Students for a Democratic Society meeting held in New York City during the latter part of December, 1963.

TPR:
(4)

REC-33 100-439048-25

12 JAN 10 1964

MAILED 20
JAN 9 -

68 JAN 1 1964

TELETYPE UNIT

4-528

100-439048-26

CHANGED TO

133-439048-40-1

R 23 1967

07-m 1/10-2nd

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 1/20/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau letter 1/9/64.

In this letter, the Bureau requested information as to whether or not Chicago had covered the lead set forth in NYlet to the Bureau dated 12/6/63. This lead was covered. For the information of the Bureau, inquiries of the Chicago Office were negative concerning KIMBERLY STEVENS MOODY.

In this letter, the Bureau also requested information as to whether New York had received any information indicating actual attendance of CP members at a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) meeting held in New York City during the latter part of December, 1963.

[redacted]

b7c

REC-133 100-11... 27

Bureau (RM)
New York (100-148047)

JET:IM
(3)

JAN 23 1964

ASSIGNED BY NYO 5310 8-16-78

JAN 27 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

b2d

Th[illegible]YO continues to be alert for information which would indicate [illegible]hat the CP is attempting to infiltrate, control or dominate the SDS. [illegible]hould such information be received, the Bureau will be promptly [illegible]dvised and further recommendations made at that time.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: 1/30/64

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

ReBulet to NY, 1/9/64 and NY letter to Director, 1/20/64, captioned as above, and [redacted]

b7d

ReBulet requested NY to advise if any information had been received indicating actual attendance of CP members at the SDS meeting scheduled to be held in NYC, during the latter part of December, 1963.

[redacted]

b7d

This informant also advised that he has never heard any mention of any officer of the SDS that is a CP member and has no information as to the degree, if any, of CP infiltration of the SDS.

[redacted]

b7d

REC-11 [illegible] 28

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - [illegible] (100-10496)(SDS)(Info)(RM)
1 - New York (41)
(4)

112

JAN 31 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

EXEMPT FROM GDS CLASSIFICATION INDEX
DATE [illegible]

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 148047

[redacted] b7d

[redacted] b7d

The above information is being furnished the Bureau in [illegible] of the request for same in reBulet, 1/9/64.

The NYO continues to be alert for information which woul[illegible] indicate that the CP is attempting to infiltrate control or [illegible]inate the SDS. Should such information be received, the Bur[illegible] will be promptly advised and further recommendations mad[illegible] that time.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. Mohr

DATE February 7, 1964

FROM C. D. Loach

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY,
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

In accordance with instructions from the Director's Office, [redacted] b7c called [redacted] and filled him in on the background of the above-entitled organizations. Public source data was furnished including the dates of founding, general organizational structure and the fact that they are both interested in all phases of integration and discrimination.

[redacted] was most appreciative and said that he was to attend the [redacted] at a women's college in Pennsylvania, which he did not identify. [redacted] b7c

[redacted] stated that the President of the college had sent him a report indicating that these two organizations had units on the campus and that each unit had about nine members. The President told [redacted] that their ability to stir things up far exceeded their numbers. He said all of these women are opposed to any form of authority and are constantly stirring up trouble.

[redacted] b7c

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

1 - Miss Gandy
1 - Mr. Jones

[redacted] b7c

NOT RECORDED
FEB 12 1964

12 FEB 1964

INT. SEC.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

4-528

[illegible]-459848-29, 30, 31, 32, 33

CHANGED TO

[illegible]-459848-30-1
[illegible]-459848-30-2, 3
[illegible]-459848-30-5

[illegible] 1987

[illegible]

FBI

Date: 3/26/64

Transmit the follow in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOUISVILLE (100-NEW)

RE: CONFERENCE, HAZARD, KENTUCKY 3/26-29/64
Sponsored by Students for Democratic Society (Committee for Miners) Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS - C)

REC-16

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7c

A conference is to be held of "social workers" at the Allais UMWA Hall, Hazard, Ky., on 3/26-29/64, if permission can be obtained to utilize the hall. About 200 people are expected to attend; coming from New York City and other areas. One speaker is supposed to be an attorney and author who lives in a nearby Kentucky county (possibly HARRY AUDILL), who gained considerable publicity in

3 - Bureau
2 - Baltimore
2 - Boston
2 - Chicago
2 - New York
2 - Philadelphia
2 - [illegible]
6 - Louisville
(100-[illegible]503)
([illegible]025)
([illegible]97)
([illegible]5)

100-429018-
RECORDED
21 SEP 4 [illegible]

EX-30

EC-16

MAR 27 1964

9 APR 1964

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN [illegible]

LS 1[illegible]

conne[illegible]ion with his book "Night Comes to the Cumberlands". The [illegible] or so people expected to attend the conference are [illegible] housed in various homes in the community and one [illegible] the purposes is to grant the people an opportunity to st[illegible] the individuals with whom they stay in the commu[illegible]ty. The conference is also to discuss the distribu[illegible]on of relief to the people of the Hazard area and d[illegible]cussion about poverty generally in the Appalachian regio[illegible]

The Hazard, Ky. police and the KSP of the Hazard, Ky., [illegible]a are cognizant of the forthcoming conference.

[redacted] b7d

Copy of the agenda for the above conference is he[illegible]ed: "Hazard Student-Miners' Conference on Jobs and P[illegible]erty", and indicates it is sponsored by Stude[illegible]s for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, New Y[illegible]k, New York, 10[illegible] and Committee for Miners, 96 Gr[illegible]nwich Avenue, N[illegible] York [illegible], New York, for Appal[illegible]hian Commit[illegible] Full Employment, Box 514, Hazar[illegible] Kentucky. Among the speakers listed are:

BERT [illegible]

[illegible] SINCLAIR

[illegible] CARDILL, Whitesburg, Ky. attorney. Author of "Night Comes to the Cumberland".

[illegible] STEINLAUF, [illegible] Doctoral Candidate

[illegible] WALSTEIN, President, United Packinghouse Workers

CARTH[illegible]NGHUM - Senate Subco[illegible] on Manpower and Employment

[illegible] KRANZ - Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Employment Security.

LS [illegible] NEW

STAN ARONOWITZ - National Committee for Full Employment; INT REP, OCAW -- AFL CIO

LEE WEBB - National Secretary SDS

Louisville is affording discreet coverage to the [illegible]th coming conference and after its completion, appropriate LHM will be submitted.

Receiving offices should promptly notify Louisville in the event they receive pertinent data concerning the [illegible]ference or learn the identities of any individuals of [illegible]ersive background who may be in attendance at or have any connection with the conference.

FD-36 (Rev. 11-12-

FBI

Date: 3/27/64

Transmit the foll in

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

b7c [redacted]

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: AC, LOUISVILLE (100-4699)

RE: ONFERENCE, HAZARD, ENTUCKY, 3/26-29/64 ponsored by Students for emocratic Society; Committee or Miners; Appalachian ommittee for Full Employment NFORMATION CONCERNING (IS - C)

b7c [redacted]

e Louisville airtel 3/26/64.

n 3/26/64. [redacted]

b7d b7c

[redacted] he was hitchhiking from Hazard, Kentucky, back home and d been in Hazard, Kentucky, to attend a student confere scheduled for 3/26-29/64 but determined the conference not what he thought it would be and he was disenchant nd was returning home. He furnished [redacted] a copy of the nda of the conference.

b7c

3/17/64

(3) Bu (RM)
2 - Bal re (RM)
2 - Bos (RM)
2 - Chi (RM)
2 - New k (RM)
2 - Phil lphia (RM)
2 - WFO)
2 - Loui lle
(1 0-4503) (1 - 157-35)
(1 0-4625) WLN/mm
(1 0-4687) (21) 2 XEROX

REC-53 100-439244-34

ST-115

11 MAR 28 1964

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-441876-1

5 APR 9 1964

APR 1 1964

Approved: Sent M Per

cial Agent in Charge

LS 10 599

3/26/
HANIS

The agenda reflects the conference was to commence
with Introduction and Orientation by BERMAN GIBSON,
INCLAIR, and ARTHUR GORSON.

Activities for 3/27/64 include the following:

Welcome Address by EVERETT THORPE,
Recording Secretary of the Appalachian
Committee for Full Employment.

Talk on Economic and Social Development
of Eastern Kentucky, by HARRY CAUDILL,
Whitesburg, Kentucky, attorney, and author
of "Night Comes to the Cumberland".

Panel of RAY BROWN, economist; ROBB BURLAGE,
Harvard Doctoral Candidate, and HARRY CAUDILL,
on the Appalachian Committee and the National
Problems of Unemployment and Poverty.

Talk by special guest speaker PERLAY F.
AYER, Secretary, Council of Southern
Mountains.

Talk by RALPH HELSTEIN, President, United
Packinghouse Workers, on the Role of the
Labor Movement.

A general tour of surrounding areas
of Hazard, Kentucky, is set for 2:00 to
:30 p.m. 3/27/64.

ctivities scheduled for 3/28/64 include:

alk on Political Considerations of
nemployment and Poverty by ROBERT ENGLER,
Professor of Sarah Lawrence College

review and criticism of present plans
nd government programs by WILLIAM DAVIS,
RA Field Coordinator, Eastern Kentucky,
ogether with GARTH MANGUM of the Senate Sub-
ommittee on Manpower and Employment, HARRY
RANZ, Assistant Administrator, Bureau of
mployment Security, and ROBB BURLAGE, mentioned
bove.

LS 100-

lk on the nature of unemployed movements
nd a strategy of organization by SUMNER
SEN, Professors of Economics at
mmons College; together with TOM HAYDEN,
rmer President of the Students for
mocratic Society, and STAN ARONOWITZ,
tional Committee for Full Employment
d International Representative, OCAW-
L, CIO, and an unidentified representative
the Student Non-Violent Coordinating
mmittee.

ternoon sessions on 3/28/64 consist of
rkshop sessions on Southeastern Kentucky
d work-study projects led by RENIE DAVIS
the Students for Democratic Society,
EVE GELLER, Field Worker of the Committee
r Miners, HAMISH SINCLAIR, Secretary
the Committee for Miners, LEE WEBB,
tional Secretary of the Students for
mocratic Society, and GEORGE GOSS,
palachian Secretary of the SDS.

ening session of 3/28/64 is shown as
ntinuation of Organization and Planning.

29/64 activities, according to the agenda, consists
st and an "Evaluation Session".

ve for information. LHM will be submitted after
ce is completed.

of a brea

the confe

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/2/64

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE, HAZARD, KENTUCKY
3/26-27/64. Sponsored by Students for Democratic Society; Committee for Miners; Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS - C)

Re LS airtel, 3/26/64, requesting recipients to promptly furnish LS information concerning conference or identities of individuals with subversive backgrounds who may attend or have connection with the conference.

Sources of WFO have developed no information concerning this conference.

100-427548-
NOT RECORDED
71 SEP 4 1964

(2) - Bureau
2 - Louisville (RM)
1 - WFO

RCP:
(5)

~~REC-41~~ 100-441525-12

4 APR 2 1964

EX-105

FEB 17 1970

~~APR 1 1968~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441525-12

FBI

Date: 4/6/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

TO: ~~DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441525)~~

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152445) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMITTEE FOR MINERS
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

[redacted]

Re Milwaukee let to Director, 3/13/64, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), IS-C;" LS airtels to Director, 3/26/64, 3/27/64 captioned "CONFERENCE, HAZARD KENTUCKY, 3/26-29/64, Sponsored by Students for Democratic Society; Committee for Miners; Appalachian Committee for Full Employment; INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS-C)".

For information of Milwaukee, Louisville advised in airtel dated 3/26/64 that an agenda for the captioned conference is headed: "Hazard Student-Miners' Conference on Jobs and Poverty", and indicates it is sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, NY, NY, 10003, and Committee for Miners, 96 Greenwich Avenue, NY 11, NY, for the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, Box 514, Hazard, Kentucky.

For information of Louisville, the Milwaukee Division furnished information in captioned Milwaukee let 3/13/64 that the SDS had filed a student organization form at the University of Wisconsin, and under Article III of its constitution information is set forth indicating that the SDS is affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy, Inc. indicated that its headquarters were in room 112, 112 East 19th Street, NYC.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Louisville (100-4687) (RM)
2 - Milwaukee (100-14350) (RM)
2 - New York (100-148047) (SDS)
1 - New York

~~REC'D~~ 100-441525-13

25 APR 7 1964

100-437048-

NOT RECORDED
71 SEP 8 1964

GCM:mj
(10)

Approved: _____ Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441525-12

NY 100 52445

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Volume I, page 683, reflects that in 1905, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, later known as the League for Industrial Democracy, had been organized for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates.

WALTER F. STEELE, editor of the "National Republic", when testifying before the Dies Committee stated that the League for Industrial Democracy was the main propaganda and agitation agency of the Socialists.

The March 25, 1955, issue of "U.S.A. - An American Bulletin of Fact and Opinion", on page 1, relates, "The League for Industrial Democracy doesn't want public attention drawn to the fact that from 1905 until 1921 the organization was called 'The Intercollegiate Socialist Society.' The motive for this name changing was a strong one. Even in 1921, at the tender age of sixteen, the organization's record was so bad, and public reaction against alien radicalism was so strong, that the members found it wise to adopt a collective alias...

"Under any name, the L.I.D. is Socialist. And whenever the oldtime members of the executive board found it expedient, they formed a united front with Communists and pro-Communists."

On 4/1/64, a physical observation of 119 Fifth Avenue, NYC, by SA [redacted] failed to reflect that the LID was located at this address, but the League for Industrial

NY 100 52445

Democ y is located in 302. A physical observation of 112 Ea 19th Street, NYC, on the same date by SA [redacted] b7C reflec that the League for Industrial Democracy is locate in room 1105, and the Workers Defense League is locate in room 405. It is noted that 112 East 19th Street room 405, is the same address and room number furnis by Louisville. Milwaukee.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

The "New York Times", a daily newspaper, on 7/12/59, described the Workers Defense League as a "civil liberties group," and a "legal-aid group which has long campaigned for reforms in the security field."

The NYO is not in possession of any information at thi time indicating the identity of persons present at the onference in Hazard, Kentucky, 3/26-29/64.

The Milwaukee Division should contact sources regard g the SDS and determine the identity of persons, if any from that organization that attended this conferenc

The NYO will advise Louisville in the event inform ion is received concerning the identity of persons attend g the conference in Hazard.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: April 8, 1964

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-23333) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE, HAZARD, KENTUCKY 3/26-29/64
Sponsored by Students for Democratic Society; Committee for Miners; Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS - C)

Re Louisville airtels to the Bureau dated March [illegible] 1964, and March 27, 1964.

[redacted] said that if he heard anything of val[redacted] he would immediately notify the Baltimore Office.

The Bureau and Louisville will be immediately advise[redacted] in the event of any information received.

(2) - Bu[redacted]u (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - Lo[redacted]ville (100-[redacted]4699)(REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Ba[redacted]more

RCN:d[redacted]
(5)

REC-32

16 APR 10 1964

100-439048
NOT RECORDED
71 SEP 8 1964

FEB 17 19[redacted]

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439048-16

b7d
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: April 8, 1964

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-23333)

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE, HAZARD, KENTUCKY 3/26-29/64
Sponsored by Students for Democratic Society; Committee for Miners; Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS - C)

Reference Louisville airtels to the Bureau dated March 2[illegible] 1964, and March 27, 1964. Reference Baltimore letter to the [illegible]reau dated April 8, 1964.

Enclosed herewith are ten copies of a letterhead memoran[illegible]m suitable for dissemination for the Bureau setting forth i[illegible]ormation obtained from [redacted] b2d
Two cop[illegible]s of the letterhead memorandum are being sent to New Yor[illegible] two to Louisville and one is being retained in Baltimo[illegible].

The letterhead memorandum is being classified [illegible] since data reported from the confidential informa[illegible] could reasonably result in identification of a confid[illegible]ial informant of great value.

2 - Bu[illegible]u (Enclosures 10)(REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - Lou[illegible]sville (Enclosures 2)(REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - New [illegible]ork (Enclosures 2)(REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Ba[illegible]more

RCN:di[illegible]
(7)

100-441525-17

APR 13 1964

100-417048-
NOT RECORDED
71 SEP 8 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441525-17

FD-65 (Rev. 12-13-51)

FBI

Date: 4/10/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441525)

FROM: SAC, LOUISVILLE (100-4687) (P)

RE: COMMITTEE FOR MINERS
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Re Bureau airtel, 4/8/64, bearing the above capt[illegible]n.

Gen'l

6 - [illegible]reau (Enc. 15)
[illegible] - 100-441525)
[illegible] - 100-(SDS)
[illegible] - 100-(APPALACHIAN COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT)
3 - [illegible]lanta (Enc. 3) (Info)
[illegible] - 100-SNCC)
[illegible] - 100-APPALACHIAN SUMMER PROJECT)
2 - [illegible]troit (Enc. 2)
[illegible]00-(SDS)
2 - [illegible]oxville (Enc. 2) (Info)
[illegible] - 100-APPALACHIAN SUMMER PROJECT)
4 - [illegible]w York (Enc. 4)
[illegible] - 100-152445)
[illegible] - 100-(SDS)
2 - [illegible]ttsburgh (Enc. 2) (Info)
[illegible] - 100-APPALACHIAN SUMMER PROJECT)
3 - [illegible]chmond (Enc. 3) (Info)
[illegible] - 100-10216)
[illegible] - 100-APPALACHIAN SUMMER PROJECT)
1 - [illegible]shington Field Office (Enc. 1) (Info)
[illegible]00-43074)
4 - [illegible]uisville
[illegible] - 100-4687)
[illegible] - 100-4699)
[illegible]C/mjr
[illegible]27)

REGISTERED MAIL

CARBON COPY

100-439048
NOT RECORDED
150 APR 15 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441525

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

56 APR 2[illegible] 1964

LS 1 4687

Transmitted herewith are Bureau copies of Letter ad Memorandum captioned as follows: "HAZARD [redacted] NINERS' CONFERENCE ON JOBS AND POVERTY, (March 7-29, 1964), Hazard, Kentucky".

Copies of this Letterhead Memorandum are also furnis d to designated offices as indicated below.

[redacted] b7d

By teletype dated March 30, 1964, leads were set out or 18 Bureau Offices to identify owners of automob es observed in Hazard, Kentucky, during pertinent weekend Any information of significance arising from these l ds will be incorporated in a letterhead memorandum a later date.

Copies of this airtel and letterhead memorandum are bein furnished to Richmond inasmuch as Richmond has leads o standing in the case entitled "PROGRESSIVE LABOR", [redacted] b7c

One copy of this airtel and letterhead memorandum is furn ed to Washington Field Office because the Committ For Miners has been active in Washington, D. C.

Information copies of airtel and letterhead memoran m are furnished to Atlanta, Knoxville, and Pittsbu h in view of information contained in Letterhead Memoran m that the "Appalachian Summer Project" will involve ese areas covered by those offices.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Louisville, Kentucky
April 10, 1964

ZARD STUDENT-MINERS' CONFERENCE ON JOBS AND POVERTY
(March 27-29, 1964)
Hazard, Kentucky

with [redacted] contact b1d
advi[redacted] as follows:

[redacted]. A conference is to be held of student "social
worke[redacted]" at the Allais United Mine Workers of America Hall,
Hazar[redacted] Kentucky, on March 26-29, 1964, if permission can
be ob[redacted]ined to utilize the hall. About 200 people are
expec[redacted]d to attend, coming from New York City and other
areas[redacted] One speaker is supposed to be an attorney and author
who l[redacted]es in a nearby Kentucky county (possibly HARRY CAUDILL),
who g[redacted]ned considerable publicity in connection with his book
"Nigh[redacted]comes to the Cumberlands". The 200 or so people
expec[redacted]d to attend the conference are to be housed in various
homes[redacted]n the community and one of the purposes is to grant
the p[redacted]le an opportunity to study the individuals with whom
they [redacted]y in the community. The conference is also to
discu[redacted] the distribution of relief to the people of the
Hazar[redacted]rea and discussion about poverty generally in the
Appal[redacted]ian region.

Source also furnished the copy of the Agenda of
the co[redacted]ference which is set out as follows:

This [redacted]ument contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of th[redacted]I. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency[redacted]it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your [redacted]ncy.

zard Student-Miners' Conference on Jobs and Poverty

AGENDA

March 26.	ime of rrival	Introduction and orientation.	Berman Gibson Hamish Sinclair Arthur Gorson
March 27.	:00 AM.	Breakfast at the Union Hall.	
	:00 AM.	Welcome address -- Everett Thrope, Rec. Secy., Appalachian Committee for Full Employment.	
	:00 AM.	Economic and social development of Eastern Kentucky -- Harry Caudill, Whitesburg, Ky., atty. author of "Night Comes to the Cumberlands".	
	:45 AM.	Questions and Discussion during Short Break	
	:15 AM.	Panel -- The Appalachian economy and the national problems of unemployment and poverty -- Ray Brown, economist Robb Burlage, Harvard doctoral candidate Harry Caudill	
	:30 PM.	Lunch	
	:00 PM.	General tour of the surrounding area.	
	:30 PM.	Dinner	
	:30 PM.	Special Guest Speaker -- Perley F. Ayer, Secy., Council of Southern Mountains.	
	:30 PM.	The role of the Labor Movement -- Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse Workers.	
March 28.	:00 AM.	Breakfast at the Union Hall.	
	:00 AM.	Political considerations of unemployment and poverty -- Robert Engler, Prof. Sarah Lawrence.	

9:45 AM. Review and criticism of present plans and Government programs --

William Davis - ARA field coordinator, Eastern Kentucky

Garth Mangum - Senate Subcommittee on Manpower and Employment

Harry Kranz - Asst. Administrator, Bureau of Employment Security

Robb Burlage

:00 AM. SHORT BREAK

:15 AM. The nature of unemployed movements: a strategy of organization --

Sumner Rosen - Prof. Economics, Simmons College

Tom Hayden - former president SDS

Stan Aronowitz - National Committee for Full Employment; Int. Rep., OCAW - AFL-CIO

A SNCC Representative

:30 PM. Lunch

:00 PM. Workshop sessions on Southeastern Kentucky work-study projects

Rennie Davis - SDS Economic Research and Action Project

Steve Geller - field worker, Committee for Miners

Hamish Sinclair - Secretary, Committee for Miners

Lee Webb - National Secretary SDS

George Goss - SDS Appalachian Secretary

30 PM. Dinner

00 PM. Continuation of organizational planning

March 29. 00 AM. Breakfast at the Union Hall

00 AM. Evaluation Session

Students f a Democratic Society
119 Fifth nue
New York, . 10003

Committee For Miners
96 Greenwich Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

for

Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
Box 514
Hazard
Kentucky

[redacted] on March 26, 1964, furnished a folder which describes itself on the front cover as the Working Pape on Poverty in Eastern Kentucky. It indicates that it r ers to a Hazard, Kentucky conference, March 26-29, 1964, and the sponsors are listed as Committee For Miners and onomic Research and Action Project of Students For A Dem cratic Society. Contained among the papers is a docu nt captioned "Appalachian Summer Project", described as a reliminary prospectus which is set out as follows:

March 7, 1964

APPALACHIAN SUMMER PROJECT

Preliminary Prospectus

hat follows is a preliminary outline of the shape of summer organ ing activity in the Appalachian region to be co-sponsored by th Economic Research and Action Project of Students for a Democ tic Society, The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Committee for Miners. It is not meant to be a definitive state nt, for in large part the summer program will depend on the el and interests of indigenous movements, on the found-atio aid by pre-summer activity, and the skills and ideas gene ed by summer organizers. It is meant, rather, as a gene guide for summer organizers, and a focus for discussion.

Activity [illegible]efore the Summer

In [illegible] coming weeks, the ongoing movement of unemployed [illegible]ness i[illegible] Hazard, Kentucky, will attempt to establish similar movement[illegible] in surrounding towns. In particular, an organization of unemploy[illegible] in Applachia, Virginia, about forty miles from Hazard, will sho[illegible]y rent an office to serve as the hub of the Appalachian movement. The office will be the base of operations for personnel already [illegible]ed by the three co-operating organizations. Numbering five peop[illegible] at this writing, these organizers will be working with the towns[illegible]ople in a variety of activities, setting up the March 26-29 conferenc[illegible] on depressed areas (in the vicinity of Hazard), and taking as their [illegible]rticular responsibility the publication of a bi-weekly newslette[illegible] for the unemployed of the multi-state region. The news-letter, a[illegible] presently envisioned, will contain information on day-to-day happe[illegible]ngs in the region, and will urge and lend direction to the forma[illegible]on of organizations of the unemployed. From the office will eman[illegible]e more specific plans for the summer project.

On M[illegible]ch 26-29, students and miners will meet in the Hazard area to e[illegible]mine the broad problems of depressed areas and to lay plans for [illegible]ummer and full-time organizing teams. A prospectus for this conf[illegible]ence is available from ERAP, 1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, [illegible]Michigan, 48104.

Beginning [illegible]n June 1964

In e[illegible]ly June, 15 to 20 SDS organizers will attend a planning and strate[illegible]y institute to meet with other community organizers around th[illegible] country to discuss particular problems of organizing, but focus[illegible]g in small workshops on the particular problems of the Appalachi[illegible] region. The training institute will put to good use the talen[illegible] of a large number of experienced community organizers. Following [illegible] week of training, the Appalachia organizers will begin work in E[illegible]tern Kentucky, Eastern Tennessee, Northwest Georgia, and Weste[illegible] Virginia, for the following purposes:

(1) to s[illegible] up social centers for young miners or unemployed youth: secure an[illegible]d union hall, rent a juke box, coke machine, etc. To hold danc[illegible], diacussions, and meetings.

(2) to d[illegible]matize the inadequacy of government retraining programs [illegible] to bri[illegible] large numbers of unemployed men to apply for govern-[illegible] retrai[illegible]ing. The present government program cannot train or

retrain ough men and in most instances it is administered locally by those no wish to use the program for political patronage.

(3) to velop county wide newspapers. Written materials and photogra s can spread the word of a developing movement quickly. They can so publicize the conditions of the Appalachian unemployed far beyo the depressed region.

(4) to mpile an inventory of grievances: Gathering information about in stices, substandard housing and schools, unsafe mine conditions, rrupt government officials, state government inactivity, inadequat relief programs, police brutality, land erosion, and murders detail can be of use in publicity and in pressing political de ds at the local, state and national levels.

(5) to velop a regional master plan. While there is widespread recogniti that a regional illness requires a regional solution, no such ution has been brought forward. The unemployed must be represent on commissions to draw up a comprehensive program. City planners d other specialists responsive to the interests of the unemploye must be found to work for a regional program.

(6) to ist the people of Appalachia with legal problems. Jailings, soc l security, mortgage, unemployment compensation, relief, and a lon list of other items creat numerous legal problems for people o epressed areas. As a part of an organizing effort, various kinds of gal help should be provided by the organizers. These particula activities should be seen as contributing to the general purpose o developing, in the Appalachian area, unions of the unemploye and others able to develop regional public programs and to bring blic attention to the staggering human problems that grip an e rmous region of America. The specific programs cannot be spelle out in this prospectus. They must be developed in the region by eople who live there, but with as much help as students can offer It is our hope that people who read this proposal will give the lves to the effort.

Peop with certain skills are needed in this organizing effort in Appala ia: Those experienced in photography, journalism, law union org izing, and city planning are expecially needed. Myr applicati s for summer or year-round work in the App hia:

/ 1100 S. Washington Street/ Ann Arbor, Michiga

Budget fo Summer Only

20 organi rs for 11 weeks at $30 each per week (includes Insurance)
$6,

entral O ice in Applachia, Virginia: $500

Publicati s: $500

3 cars an travel: $3000

Total: 0,600

In the folder was also a document which appears to b a press release captioned "Student-Miner Conference on J s and Poverty c/o Allais Local, Hazard, Ky." This docu nt is set out as follows:

udent-Miner Conference on Jobs and Poverty
o Allais Local, Hazard, Ky. 436-3048

For release: March 25, 1964 (P.M.)

Over 200 dents and miners will assemble at Allais Local, Hazard, K tucky on Friday March 27, 1964, for a three day "student- ners" conference on unemployment, poverty and depressed areas. T conference, hosted by the Appalachian Committee for Full Empl ent, will bring together jobless miners and students from coll s and universities in all parts of the nation.

Among tho participating in the conference will be: William Davis, AR ield Coordinator; Garth Mangum, Senate Sub-Committee on Manpow and Employment; Harry Kranz, Asst. Administrator, Bureau of ployment Security; Carry Napuk, AFL-CIO Research Division; bert Engler, author of "Politics of Oil"; Harry Caudill, hor of "Night Comes to the Cumberlands" an attorney from Whit urg, Ky; Berman Gibson, President, Appalachian Committee r Full Employment, and Rennie Davis, director S.D.S. Economic earch and Action Project.

Appalach n Committee for Full Employment President Berman Gibson d "I have been speaking to college students in the north a t in the last nine months about conditions in the eastern rt of Kentucky. After they brought down food and clothing t Christmas a larger number of students wanted to come down and nd out more about the area. We felt that we should bring to ther the unemployed miners and all the interested students o hear important speakers talk about programs for our area and we c ld start to develop a real movement down here to get jobs r thase miners." Mr. Gibson went on to say that "Our Com ttee has asked the Committee for Miners and Students for a De ratic Society to help us organize the meetings and spread t word about our people's plight."

The newl formed Appalachian Committee for Full Employment is a group ma -up of unemployed and retired miners working to organize ublic pressure and political action for meaningful federal, tate and local programs to wipe out poverty and unemployment n the Appalachian region. At present a function of the Committee s to provide relief for those unemployed living in deaperate conditions. Students around the country have helped collect d and clothing towards this effort.

The Stude -Miner Conference is planned as part of the Appalachian Committee program of education and action. Students for a Democrati Society, a national liberal student group, and the Committee for Miners, formed to aid the unemployed miners, have organized the conference with the Appalachian Committee for Full Employmen

For more formation contact : Berman Gibson, c/o Allais Local, Allais R , Hazard, Ky. or Arthur Gorson, c/o Allais Local (phone 4 3048 Hazard).

[redacted] advised March 27, 1964, that it is his opin n that the main reason and purpose of the Conference of dents for a Democratic Society, sponsored by Berman Gib is solely to obtain funds for the court defense of Gib and his seven co-defendants at his trial coming up July 4, 1964 at Jackson, Kentucky. Gibson is leveying a $13 registration fee at this Conference and $5.00 a day for eakfast and lunch from the students, and with the assi ance of his publicity man, Hamish Sinclair, has devised this ethod to obtain funds for the trial and in ance the legi mate organization being set up by President Johnson for s "War on Poverty" for his own benefit. b7d

A publication entitled "S.D.S. Bulletin", an
or ization of Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), 112
Ea 19th Street, New York 3, New York, on page 31 contains
th ollowing statement attributed to the SDS Constitution:
"S is an organization of democrats. It is civil liberation
in s treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear
in s oppostition to any totalitarian principle as a basis
fo overnment or social organization. Advocates or apologists
fo uch a principle are not eligible for membership."

On January 27, 1964, by observation at 96 Greenwich
Ave e, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
det mined that the names, Committee For Miners, and Hamish
Sin air, both appeared on the door at the address, [redacted] b2d
ind ated that Hamish Sinclair is a press agent or publicity has
man or Berman Gibson.

On March 30, 1964, the Hazard Herald, a newspaper
of cal circulation, Hazard, Kentucky, reported as follows:

The Conference on poverty and unemployment sponsored
by rman Gibson, Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
(AC), held in Hazard, on the weekend of March 27-29, 1964,
was tended by approximately 135 college students representing
20 leges from the northeastern states and as far West as
Wis nsin and Texas.

Harry M. Caudill, Whitesburg, Kentucky attorney
and thor, did not appear as scheduled. Berman Gibson in
a r ling speach talked about the history of his picket
mov ent, local politics and economy, and his difficulties
wit the law.

The story noted that Gibson is under State indictment
for med robbery and other charges and under Federal
indi ment for conspiracy to dynamite a railroad bridge.
Gib claimed that he was being framed by his enemies.

Hamish Sinclair, Secretary of the New York-Based
Com tee for Miners, an organization that supports Gibson's
mov nt, invited students to return to their campuses and
rai funds for Gibson's defense in court. He also invited
the o come back to Hazard, Kentucky, in the r and
help he Committee For Full Employment to doc these

ca where miners families have allegedly been denied
th rightful welfare aid.

The students were quartered in the homes of
fam ies of miners who followed Gibson. Several were clad
in atnik garbs and created a small stir when they
cir lated among local citizens.

Although most of the students responded warmly
to bson and listened attentively at the conference,
som admitted in private conversations that they were
dis lusioned with Gibson; that the reports they would
mak at their respective schools would be unfavorable.

City Police indicated other than minor traffic
prob ems near the meeting hall; no disturbances occurred
dur g the conference.

The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Kentucky, a
new aper of general circulation, on March 28, 1964, in
an ticle concerning the conference, reported that Hamish
Sin air, in asking for financial support asked for
fin cial aid in connection with the expenses of the
def se of charges against Berman Gibson. He indicated that
a $25,000 budget has been set up for Gibson's defense
wit part of the money already collected.

The story indicated that 15 students attended
fro berlin College near Cleveland, Ohio.

On September 9, 1963, the Federal Grand Jury
in hmond, Kentucky, Eastern District of Kentucky, returned
an ictment charging Berman Gibson and seven others with
vio ion of Sections 371 and 1992 of Title 18, United
Sta Cods, in connection with an attempt to blow up
Lou ville & Nashville Railroad Bridge No. 4 at Daisy,
Ken ky, on June 11, 1963.

On April 8, 1964, Edward Hughes Clark, Jr.,
1312 outh Floyd Street, Louisville, Kentucky, who
char terizes himself as a political "radical" and a
Mar t-Leninist, while being interviewed regarding
ano r matter, volunteered that he had attended the
Stu t-Miner Conference at Hazard, Kentucky, on March
27-2 1964, and that he and Carl Braden of Louisville,

we[illegible] the only people from Louisville who attended the con[illegible]rence.

"Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, [illegible]ouiaville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former [illegible]ember of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, [illegible]entucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, [illegible]954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal [illegible]ourt, in a state sedition prosecution against [illegible]arl James Braden, identified Braden, and his [illegible]ife, Anne Braden, as having been known to her [illegible]s members of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, from [illegible]anuary, 1961, to shortly prior to the time of [illegible]er testimony.

The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Kentucky, [illegible] newspaper of general circulation, on February 3, [illegible]959, reported that Carl Braden had been sentenced [illegible]o one year in prison on a charge of contempt of [illegible]ongress on February 2, 1959, in Atlanta, Georgia. [illegible]he story noted that he had been convicted under [illegible]his charge on January 21, 1959, and that the [illegible]harge arose from his refusal to answer questions [illegible]efore the House Committee on Un-American [illegible]ctivities.

"The Louisville Times, Louisville, Kentucky, [illegible] newspaper of general circulation, on February [illegible]7, 1961, reported that the United States Supreme [illegible]ourt had, on that date, affirmed the contempt [illegible]f Congress conviction of Braden."

4-528

100-439048- 35, 35X, 36

CHANGED TO

100-439048-52-1
100-439048-30-43

1137

In mb/ 4-2-57

[redacted] b7c

Jackson, Mississippi
May 20, 1964

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Will you please give this material your attention.

Sincerely,

[redacted] b7c

RED. DB

100-1 3/1

ENCLOSURE
FILED

REC-28

100- 439048-37

May 28, 1964

b7c

[redacted] b7c

Jackson, Mississippi

Dear [redacted] b7c

Your letter of May 20th and enclosures have been received in Mr. Hoover's absence from Washington. Please be assured they will be brought to his attention when he returns.

Sincerely yours,

MAILED 10
MAY 28 1964
COMM-FBI

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

NOTE: Correspondent enclosed material which reflects her views that Students for a Democratic Society is "the Communist hand behind the racial violence occurring all over the United States...." New Orleans airtel [illegible]-63 captioned "Desegregation of University of Mississippi" contains information regarding a group called "Women for Constitutional Government" [redacted] This group was organized reportedly as a result of a large group of Mississippi women expressing alarm over [illegible] federal encroachments upon the constitutional rights of the State and its citizens, and it issued a call to all women interested in the restoration

b7c

DCL:[illegible] (3)

Note Continued on Next Page

JUN 15 1964

SEARCHED [illegible] TELETYPE UNIT

RECEIVED
MAY 29 10 55 AM '64
FBI
READING ROOM

Mrs. [illegible]rry Scrivner

Note C[illegible]tinued: of constitutional government to join forces in a movem[illegible]t to stem the tide of Federal usurpation. According to newsp[illegible]r articles, the group was nonpolitical in nature. (157-401-2419) No oth[illegible] references located on correspondent. Students for a Democratic Society [illegible] subject of Bufiles ~~100-441525 and 100-439048~~. It is under curren[illegible]nternal Security investigation.

4-528

NA 438048-30X

CHANGED TO

NA 438048-30-L

MAR 23 1967

0-1 (Rev. 8-27-63)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

FROM: Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial (100-441525)

Room No. [redacted]

SUBJECT: Students For A Democratic Society
Information Concerning
(Internal Security)

[X] Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)

[ ] 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

[ ] Letter closing case submitted.

[ ] 2. DATE [ ] airtel [ ] report [ ] letter [ ] letterhead memo [ ] submitted [ ] 90-day progress letter [ ] will be submitted

Reporting employee

[ ] 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

[X] 4. Status of [ ] Appeal [ ] Inquiry [X] Investigation [ ] Prosecution

[ ] 5. Submit [ ] airtel [ ] report [ ] letter [ ] letterhead memo by 100-142340

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MILWAUKEE

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file)

[redacted]

GPO 867-1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441525) DATE: 7/29/64

FROM: SAC, LOUISVILLE (100-4699) (C)

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE, HAZARD, KENTUCKY,
3/26-29/64, SPONSORED BY
STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY;
COMMITTEE FOR MINERS, APPALACHIAN
COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(IS - C)
OO: Louisville

Re Louisville airtel 3/30/64 captioned as above. Further reference is made to Louisville airtel captioned, "COMMITTEE FOR MINERS, INFORMATION CONCERNING, INTERNAL SECURITY," which transmitted a letterhead memorandum captioned, "HAZARD STUDENTS-MINERS' CONFERENCE ON JOBS AND POVERTY (3/27-29/64), HAZARD, KENTUCKY."

By referenced airtel of 3/30/64, approximately 68 license numbers observed in Hazard, Ky., during the captioned conference were listed and leads were set out for appropriate offices to identify registered owners.

Of all individuals so identified, only one had recent direct CP or basic subversive affiliation. This affiliation was in 1963.

One other individual who participated in the program of the conference was identified as having been a CP member in the 1940's and one other former CP member is identified in referenced letterhead memorandum.

In view of the lack of apparent subversive influence this matter is being closed.

Separate files are maintained on the various organizations listed as sponsors of the conference.

2 - Bureau (R.M.)
2 - Louisville (100-4699)
1 - 100-4687)
1 - 100-4716)
GMH:kw
(5)

REC 4 100-441525-24
NOT RECORDED
71 SEP 6 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441525-24
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

JUL 31 1964

FEB 17 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

INTERNAL SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44152)

DATE: 8/5/64

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
INTERNAL SECURITY

ReBureau letter to New York 7/14/64.
ReNY Letter to Bureau 1/20/64.
ReNY Letter to Bureau 12/30/63.

Files of the NYO do not contain any information indicating whether or not the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met at Pine Hill, New York, on 6/6/64 - 6/11/64; nor do they indicate whether the National Convention was held on 6/11/64 - 6/15/64.

A review of the files of the NYO has been made concerning the SDS and no indication of CP initiation, domination, infiltration or control was noted.

Logical informants and sources negative concerning CP involvement in SDS.

In view of the fact that there is no indication of any CP interest, infiltration, domination or control of the SDS, it is recommended that no investigation of the SDS be initiated at this time.

In the event information is received which would indicate that the CP is attempting to infiltrate, control or dominate the SDS, the Bureau will be promptly advised and further recommendations made at that time.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

REC-32
MCT-17 100-439048-39

AUG 7 1964

AUG 13 1964

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

[redacted] b1c

August 8, 1964

Department of State
Dept. of Inter-American Affairs
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Recently and out of ignorance I joined an organization known as the "Students for a Democratic Society." Literature I have since received has led me to believe that this organization is not what it claimed to be in advertisements.

I would greatly appreciate any information you can furnish on this organization. I would like to know if it engage in any subversive affairs or activities.

If this is a harmful organization could you please advise me how to disassociate myself with it.

Thank you,

[redacted] b1c

PS I need this information as soon as possible.

100-153018-40

ENCLOSURE

AUG 18 1964

b7c

[redacted]

b7c

Dear [redacted] b7c

[redacted]

b7c

Reference is made to your letter dated August 3, 1964, in which you make inquiry about an organization named "Students for a Democratic Society".

[redacted]

Please be advised that the subject of your inquiry is not within the province of the Department of State. It is suggested you might desire to make inquiry at the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Very truly yours,

Henri G. Brigman

Henri G. Brigman
Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Security

[redacted] b7c REC-52

AUG 21 1964

cc: Federal Bureau Investigation
with attachment: Copy of Incoming letter

[redacted] b7c

61 AUG 7 1964

SAC, New York (100-148047)

September 1, 1964

Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

Gen'l

Reurlet 8/5/64.

[redacted]

Although relet points out that a review of New York files had contact with logical informants produced no information indicating CP infiltration or control of the SDS, it does appear from the above that the CP considers the SDS as having some potential for the recruitment of youths into the CP or front organizations. You are, therefore, instructed to conduct additional logical investigation in order to identify SDS personnel located at the national office including officers of the organization and thereafter determine whether these individuals have any affiliation with subversive organizations. This investigation must be handled in a discreet manner in order to avoid any inference that the Bureau is conducting an investigation of the SDS. REC 8 100-439048-41

Furnish results of this inquiry to the Bureau promptly along with your recommendations in regard to conducting a security investigation.

MAILED 10
1964
COMM-FBI

JFM:

(4)

SEP 1 1964

6 0 SEP 1964

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: 9/25/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReBulet to NY dated 9/1/64; Indianapolis letter to NY dated 6/11/64, Milwaukee letter to Director, dated 6/30/64; and [redacted] to Director dated 8/8/63.

[redacted] b1

The Bureau instructed that investigation be conducted in order to identify SDS personnel located at the National Office including the SDS officers and thereafter determine whether these individuals have any affiliation with subversive organizations.

The Bureau instructed that this investigation must be handled in a discreet manner in order to avoid any inference that the Bureau is conducting an investigation of the SDS and that the results should be furnished the Bureau promptly with a recommendation in regard to a Cominfil investigation.

Files of the NYO contain no information concerning the current SDS officers.

Files of the [redacted] were reviewed on September 16, 1964, by [redacted] and no current information concerning the SDS was available. b7d b7C

[redacted] in an effort to obtain the desired information were unsuccessful. b7E

REC 55 100-439048-42

EX-112

(2)- Bureau (RM)
2 - Cincinnati (RM)
2 - Indianapolis (100-14283)(RM)
2 - Milwaukee (100-14340)(RM)
1 - New York (41)

SEP 28 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

INT SEC

JEM:
6(9)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

APPROPRIATE ADDRESSEES AND FIELD OFFICES ACTION BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF
DATE

NY [illegible]-148047

~~MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION~~

Referenced Indianapolis letter enclosed pamphlets regarding the SDS, made available to the Indianapolis Office by [redacted] dated May [illegible] and 25, 1964. b7d

~~MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION~~

The letter dated May 25, 1964 identified the SDS President as TODD GITLIN; the Vice-President as PAUL BOOTH; the National Secretary as LEE DUNHAM WEBB and the National Secretary Designate as C.C. KISSINGER.

CHARLES CLARK KISSINGER

Referenced Indianapolis letter also noted that the SDS intends to have its National Convention from June 11-14, 1964.

[redacted] enclosed voluminous material from [redacted] concerning the SDS 1963 Convention. b7d

Referenced Milwaukee letter referred to the SDS chapter at the University of Wisconsin; identified its chairman as CHARLES CLARK KISSINGER (probably identical with C.C. KISSINGER referred to above).

LEAD:

INDIANAPOLIS DIVISION

[redacted]

Will ascertain if [redacted] has received any correspondence from the SDS which show the officers who were elected at the June, 1964 SDS Convention. b7d

[redacted] b7d

NY 0-148047

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

MILWAUKEE DIVISION

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Will advise if any material has been received which would show the current SDS Officers.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dire[illegible]or, FBI (100-441825)

10/2/64

SAC, [illegible]ilwaukee (100-14340) -RUC-

STUD[illegible]TS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INFO[illegible]ATION CONCERNING
(INT[illegible]NAL SECURITY)

Re N[illegible] York letter to Bureau 8/25/64.

Revi[illegible] of captioned file at Milwaukee was made without
locat[illegible]g any material which would show the current
natio[illegible]l officers of SDS.

It i[illegible]oted that relat referred to CHARLES CLARK KISSINGER
[redacted] formerly identified as chairman of SDS at
Univ[illegible]ity of Wisconsin, as probably identical with C. C.
KISSI[illegible]ER, national secretary designate. New York, by
lette[illegible] to Bureau 8/13/64, in case captioned [redacted]
[redacted] advised that CHARLES C.
KISSI[illegible]ER, JR. resides at 31[illegible] W. 20th St., New York City,
Apt. [illegible], and is employed as national secretary for
Econo[illegible]c Research and Action Project, 119 5th Ave., New
York [illegible]ty. [redacted]
KISSI[illegible]R, prior to leaving Madison, Wis., left forwarding
addre[illegible] with Mathematics Dept., University of Wisconsin,
care [illegible]udents for Democratic Society, Room 302, 119 5th
Ave., [illegible]w York, N.Y. It is possible that KISSINGER
holds [illegible] national office in SDS.

b7c

NO[illegible] RECORDED
191 OCT 5 1964

2-Bur[illegible] (100-441825 - 1- 100-439048) RM
2-New [illegible]rk (100-148047) RM
2-Mil[illegible]kee (100-14340 1- 100-14165)
[illegible]
[illegible])

350

59 OCT 12 [illegible]4

4-528

100-439048- 43

CHANGED TO

100-439048-1-1

MAR 2 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 10/21/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

(OO:NEW YORK)

ReBulet to Albany, 10/16/64.

As mentioned in referenced letter, a preliminary inquiry is being conducted by the NYO to determine whether any of the national officers of the SDS have any subversive affiliations.

To date efforts to ascertain the identity of these officers has been unsuccessful.

Albany is requested to advise if it has any information concerning the identities of these officers, noting that the last SDS National Convention was scheduled to be held June 11-14, 1964.

REC-1 100-439048-44

EX-112 OCT 23 1964

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Albany (RM)
1 - New York (41)

JET:[illegible]
(5)

INTERNAL SECURITY

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 11/5/64

FROM : SAC, [redacted] (100-148047) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

Reurlet, 9/25/64.

[redacted] has furnished no information concerning the current officers of SDS.

Enclosed for New York, is one copy of pamphlet [redacted] entitled, "Revolution in Mississippi," published by SDS. The pamphlet shows copyright of January, 1962, and on last page lists the National Executive Committee and the Staff of SDS, furnished by [redacted] on 5/20/64.

Also enclosed is reproduction of a leaflet furnished by [redacted] 5/20/64, announcing the June 11-14, 1964, SDS National Convention.

[redacted]

2 - Director (RM)
2 - New York (Enc. 4) (RM)
[redacted] (1 - 100-14444)
(1 [redacted] 9 [redacted]

(6)

NOV 25 19

REC 6 100-439048-45

REC-16 ST-108

INT. SEC.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-439048

Proposed Agenda

1964 SDS National Convention

Thursday, June 11

3:00-6:00 P. M. Registration
6:00 Dinner
7:30 PANEL: VISIONS OF A NEW SOCIETY
Discussion

Friday, June 12

9:00 A. M. PANEL: THE ROLE OF RADICALS IN 1964 POLITICS
Discussion
12:30 P. M. Lunch
2:00 DISCUSSION GROUPS AND PANELS:
The Role of Radicals and the Possibilities for Radicalism in American Institutions and Movements
- Labor movement
- Churches
- Universities
- Professions
- Government
- Civil rights movement
- Peace movement
- Community organization

6:30 Dinner
8:00 Reports of President & Nat'l Sec'y

Saturday, June 13

9:00 A. M. PANEL: THE ROLE AND FUTURE OF SDS
10:30 Committee and plenary discussion of 3 statements leading to adoption of one
6:00 Supper
7:30 Further discussion of statement in committee

Sunday, June 14

9:00 A. M. PLENARY debate on statement
12:00 Lunch
1:30 Plenary debate continued
Adoption of statement
3:00 Constitutional amendments
6:00 Dinner
7:30 Election of National Officers

Monday, June 15

2:00 P. M. Meeting of the new National Council

Toward a Democratic Society...

In the summer of 1963 the SDS National Convention saw America entering a New Era, an era marked by insurgency against both the tokenism of the New Frontier and the conservatism of the traditional Right, and by a growing demand for a society free from war and poverty.

Since that summer much has happened to justify those who saw this insurgency as only a beginning: the development of mass movements based around economic issues in cities like Chester, Pennsylvania, a March on Washington linking the workers in demanding jobs and justice for the unemployed, the miners in Hazard, Kentucky, and the rapid growth of SDS itself.

But with the new possibilities for a radical movement in America must come new questioning--about the sort of society we are trying to create, about the ways to achieve that society.

- --In which American institutions are the potentialities for radical action the greatest?
- --How must American institutions be reshaped to create a true democracy?
- --Around what issues is a genuine movement of the poor most likely to be created?
- --What steps can be taken to move the American middle classes in a radical direction?
- --What attitude should community organizers take toward electoral action?
- --What useful roles are there for radicals who cannot be full-time activists or organizers?
- --What should be the program of SDS in 1964-1965?

1964 National Convention

The SDS National Convention, held each summer, is the key forum for establishing SDS policy and leadership for the coming year. In 1962 it defined the broad values of the organization; in 1963 it set forth a general strategy.

In 1964 it shall attempt to find answers, albeit tentative, to the questions posed above. During the first part of the Convention people active in the various movements for social change will lead discussions about the role of the radical in American institutions and movements. They will especially try to impart an understanding of the history of American radical activity and to inform analysis of present situation and future prospects with a much needed historical perspective.

During the second part of the Convention SDS members will decide upon a programmatic statement to guide the new National Council and National Staff. They will choose one of three previously prepared draft statements and will then revise this draft as necessary. Election of officers will follow final adoption of the programmatic statement.

Attend the Convention:

To participate in the direction of the national organization.
To learn how to give a national perspective to local programs.
To find your role in the growing movement for a democratic society.

(OVER)

Representation

EACH member of SDS who attends the Convention as an individual has one vote. In addition, each chapter should elect one delegate for every five members of the national organization who are unable to attend as individuals. Every chapter delegate so elected has two votes.

PARTICIPATION in Convention discussions is also open to all interested non-members of SDS, though of course they may not vote.

To defray costs of lodging and meals it will be necessary to charge a fifteen dollar registration fee. If the Convention costs prove to be less than expected, refunds will be arranged.

THE newly elected National Council will meet immediately after the Convention at a site nearby. Each chapter should elect NC delegates to stay for this meeting.

ALL who attend the Convention must bring sleeping bags. No blankets or sheets will be available.

PEOPLE who will need rides, who will be driving from NYC area, or who need info about buses call SDS office

---

I plan to attend the SDS Convention.
Name
School address
Home address
Telephone

Enclosed is $ _____ toward my fee of $15 I will pay the balance at the Convention.
I have a car and can take _____ people to Pine Hill leaving from _____

Male _____ Female _____
Married couple _____

HOW TO GET THERE

THE 1964 SDS National Convention will be held at Camp Gulliver in Pine Hill New York.

GET on to the New York State Thruway northbound. Exit at Kingston, New York (Exit 19.)

Immediately after getting off the Thruway turn right and continue on Route 28 approximately 35 miles to Pine Hill.

Continue past the sign reading "Pine Hill and beyond the Harry Allen gas station on your right.

Take the first right after the Harry Allen gas station and continue one mile to Camp Gulliver.

Get out of your car, register, and relax.

REMEMBER:
Return the adjoining coupon immediately to:

SDS
ROOM 302, 119 FIFTH AVE.
New York, N.Y. 10003
Phone: ALA-2176

Bring a sleeping bag.

Be there.

JUNE 11-14, 1964

The Role of the Radical in American Institutions and Movements

(OVER)

Revolution in Mississippi

SEE PAGES 6 AND 7

Photo Reproduction

Special Report by Tom Hayden

THOMAS HAYDEN is a field representative of Students for a Democratic Society. A graduate of the University of Michigan, he has worked for SDS in the South as a writer and participant in the nonviolent direct action movement. McComb, Mississippi, is one of several "trouble spots" he has observed in the course of his Southern travelling. His writing has appeared in The Progressive, Mademoiselle, New America, and numerous student journals.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY is an educational and social action organization which brings together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars in an effort to realize the vision of a society where at all levels the people control the decisions and resources which affect them. To this end the S.D.S. national staff, chapters, and associated groups are engaged in political discussion and action projects.

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY is a tax-exempt research and social action-organization dedicated to the proposition that there is more to democracy than pulling a lever in a polling place. We believe that in a truly democratic society each individual participates in shaping his social destiny—in making the key decisions which govern his livelihood, his place of residence, the education of his children, as well as the large social and economic policies of his government. To increase such participation, and to inform and enlighten it, are the tasks which the L. I. D. has set for itself.

Cover by Isaac Trompetter
Editor: Marion Joye

20¢

A Students for a Democratic Society Publication

Though small in size, this report is large in substance and implied urgency. It is attempting to introduce to the wider audience outside the South the civil rights movement as something more than an abstract entity that "colored people are doing down there." With great perception and sensitivity, Tom Hayden presents a real picture of what an important part of the American civil rights movement is doing to effect and promote a full scale social revolution in this country.

In this report, the author's concern reaches far beyond the initial [redacted] various ramifications of a student revolt that has grown into a planned revolution. The issue he treats, the dedicated determination he sees, the aspiration he records are not the concern, solely, of young Negroes in the South. They are, or should be, the concern of all thoughtful Americans because the end results of what is happening in this country today will surely affect the entire South, the nation, and our future position as members of a world community.

The concern of this report is political. It is a political concern in the older sense of the word which connotes a desire for involvement and participation in reform. Its focus then is upon matters which relate to using one of our basic social institutions, that of government, to revolutionize the social structure of our society.

The report clearly records the assault of young American Negroes against the existing power structure in the Deep South which would perpetuate a system of near political serfdom in the midst of a rapidly changing world. It echoes the throbbing demand to cease the hypocrisy of shouting support of revolutionists abroad and cultivating normalcy and mediocrity at home. The report shows that today, in this country, there are people who feel freedom as a passion in their lives and are willing to make it more than an abstract concept. We are doing this in an attempt to assure the security of the individual against all forms of social oppression.

Young people have integrated the ideal of working for people with the concept of working with people, and the results are positive. We are working with people not in the, so-called, depressed areas of distant lands, but here, at home, where the domestic scene is depressed and depressing in spots. The work that is going on here is important and the fact that it is being reported objectively is just as important. The concern of many of the people in this country today is to spread democracy to the other parts of the world. Our concern today is this: we who have fought for so many years to make "the world safe for democracy" are now fighting to make democracy safe for the world.

CHARLES F. McDEW
Chairman
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE, THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE
THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE SOME DAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND, WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND
WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND SOME DAY

REVOLUTION IN MISSISSIPPI

By TOM HAYDEN
SNCC Southern Field Secretary

WE ARE NOT AFRAID, WE ARE NOT AFRAID
WE ARE NOT AFRAID TODAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
WE'RE ON TO VICTORY, WE'RE ON TO VICTORY
WE'RE ON TO VICTORY SOME DAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH, THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH
THE LORD WILL SEE
OH DEEP IN MY HE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
WE WILL SOON BE FREE, WE WILL SOON BE FREE
WE WILL SOON BE FREE SOME DAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
WE SHALL OVERCOME,
WE SHALL OVER
OH DEEP IN MY HE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE, THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE
THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE SOME DAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND, WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND
WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND SOME DAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

Students for a Democratic Society
112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

NOT AFRAID
TODAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
WE'RE ON TO VICTORY, WE'RE ON TO VICTORY
WE'RE ON TO VICTORY SOME DAY
OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE
WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY
THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH, THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH

"You have caused a very bad relationship to exist in this town. Through the years, and up until this past August, we have gotten along very well. It was then that this outsider Bob Moses came into the area to have a campaign to register 'Negra' voters. Now you have had classes instructing these people how to register. Some of them have been successful enough to pass the examination and are now qualified. . . . With the help of officers of the surrounding counties we have been able to keep violence down. . . . Every effort you make to stir up violence in this community will be met. Some of you are local residents, some are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators you will be like sheep and be slaughtered."

Statement by Judge Brumfield when sentencing McDew, Moses and Zellner.

Copyright © January 1962 by the Students for a Democratic Society

FOREWORD

February 1, 1960 marked the beginning of the student sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina. In a sense this is an anniversary pamphlet, illuminating one section of a movement which has continued and grown in significance. What is here described is a revolution by and for democratic man: one who believes unequivocally in each citizen's right to participate in shaping his social destiny. The struggle in McComb shows more than the practice of systematic repression by the state of Mississippi. It illustrates the price which some Americans are now willing to pay for democratic participation.

The League for Industrial Democracy and its student branch, Students for a Democratic Society, are engaged in the attempt to reinforce this desire for participation in Americans of all ages and conditions. For as our country as become increasingly urban, mechanized, and impersonal, the sense of being a live contributor to the life of society has sickened and, among too many of us, died. The L. I. D. calls upon Americans to observe how, and by whom, are made the great decisions affecting our life in cities—who decides the nature of our schools, our housing, our recreation, our wage range—and why do so few of us take part in these decisions? In urban life, as in civil rights and other major problem areas, L. I. D. seeks to encourage and improve the participation of the individual.

Students for a Democratic Society provides an educational center where people around the university can come together, not only to take part the civil rights struggle of today, but also to relate that struggle to other badly-needed reforms—in campus life, in the city, in economic and foreign policy. We do this by means of pamphlets, periodicals, and conferences, but above all by establishing a sustained program of investigation and action on campuses throughout the country. In all this, we want to bridge North and South, campus life and adult life—to make the vital connection between the aspirations of students and those of the men and women working for the labor movement, for urban reform, for human and

Sincerely,

Robert A. Haber
President, SDS

Harry Fleischman
Chairman, Exec. Comm., LID

" 'Moses is a pretty shrewd damn duck,' commented George Guy, McComb's police chief."

New York Times, Tuesday, October 24, 1961.

We are smuggling this note from the drunk tank of the county [illegible] along the concrete bunker; Curtis Hayes, Hollis Watkins, Ike Lewis, and Robert Talbert, four veterans of the bunker, are sitting up talking—mostly about girls; Charles McDew ("Tell the story") is curled into the concrete and the wall; Harold Robinson, Stephen Ashley, James Wells, Lee Chester Vick, Leotus Eubanks, and Ivory Diggs lay cramped on the cold bunker; I'm sitting with smuggled pen and paper, thinking a little, writing a little; Myrtis Bennett and Janie Campbell are across the way wedded to a different icy cubicle.

Later on Hollis will lead out with a clear tenor into a freedom song; Talbert and Lewis will supply jokes; and McDew will discourse on the history of the black man and the Jew. McDew—a black by birth, a Jew by choice and a revolutionary by necessity—has taken on the deep hates and deep loves which America, and the world, reserves for those who dare to stand in a strong sun and cast a sharp shadow.

In the words of Judge Brumfield, who sentenced us, we are "cold calculators" who design to disrupt the racial harmony (harmonious since 1619) of McComb into racial strife and rioting; we, he said, are the leaders who are causing young children to be led like sheep to the pen to be slaughtered (in a legal manner). "Robert," he was addressing me, "haven't some of the people from your school been able to go down and register without violence here in Pike county?" I thought to myself that Southerners are most exposed when they boast.

It's mealtime now: we have rice and gravy in a flat pan, dry bread and a "big town cake"; we lack eating and drinking utensils. Water comes from a faucet and goes into a hole.

This is Mississippi, the middle of the iceberg. Hollis is leading off with his tenor, "Michael, row the boat ashore, Alleluia; Christian brothers don't be slow, Alleluia; Mississippi's next to go, Alleluia." This is a tremor in the middle of the iceberg—from a stone that the builders rejected.

Bob Moses

Nov. 1, 1961

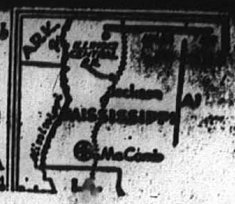
Hard-Core Segregationist City In Mississippi Is Nearing Crisis

Student Pressure on McComb Builds Tension in Drive to Ease Racial Curbs

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

cCOMB, Miss, Oct. 20—A "s student revolt has pushed



The nation now knows that a 16-year-old Negro girl, Brenda Travis, is in a detention home in Jackson, Mississippi, a hostage of the state and a symbol of the insurrection that has taken place these last weeks in southern and central Mississippi. They will know, "they" being the body of citizens who read the human interest stories, that there have been troubles, apparently serious, in a place called McComb, Mississippi. Probably they will know that 114 high school age Negroes held a demonstration there recently, and went to jail, and were suspended from school, and that college students in Jackson to the north demonstrated in sympathy and thereupon had their student government dissolved by the state. Maybe, just maybe, they know that a student organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was instrumental in initiating the turmoil there. And, of course, they all know, and are by now forgetting, that a Negro was killed down there a short time ago by a representative to the Mississippi State Legislature.

But this information is not even a skeleton of the truth of Mississippi. Perhaps it is vain to hope that more than vagaries or uncontexted facts can be communicated across this vast nation. How do we make a situation *real* to outsiders—those who know not the people involved, the state, the county, and most of all, the social, political, economic, cultural, religious, historic pattern we have labelled "segregation."

This report is intended to make facts real and evoke not reader interest but productive commitments. [illegible] need not be demagoguery however. Just read the facts. And read them again. And again.

THE IMMEDIATE HISTORY

There are almost five million Negroes of voting age in the South. Generally, about 25% of the registered Negroes vote, compared to 60% of the registered whites. The population in Mississippi, white and Negro over 21 years of age, totals 1,207,000. Of that total, about 500,000 are Negroes, of whom approximately 23,000—or 1/20—are registered (all according to the 1950 census and later reports). In some areas, Negroes outnumber whites; e.g., in the Third Congressional District (Delta area) 67% of the over-21 group is Negro, but only 4,596 of 146,076 (Negroes) are registered. A recent Southern Regional Council pamphlet on voter registration says of Mississippi:

> All forms of violence, intimidation, and discrimination reported from other states were found here. Where other sections usually rely on one or two means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the state which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered . . . In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50 per cent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the three elections on which information was available in 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and three had one registered who never voted. In the seven counties having more than 60 per cent Negro population, two votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Sporadic attempts have been made to register larger numbers of Negroes, but never has there been significant success *of a continuing kind*. This is not the place to suggest the reasons for the past and present failures of a voter registration program; suffice to say that a range of intertwined factors are operative, including legal restrictions, violence and intimidation, the ratio of Negroes to whites, levels of education, degree of dependency on the white community for employment or the materials of subsistence, relative absence of indigenous Negro leadership, and so on.

SNCC was born in the Spring of 1960 as a direct action coordinating agency of the sit-in movement. It functioned originally as a loose-knit, decentralized, coordinating unit composed of representatives from the 13 Southern states, the U.S. National Student Asso- [redacted] Democratic Society and other organizations.

In the Spring of 1961 a series of events induced radical changes in SNCC's method of attacking segregation. Those events, very briefly, included: 1) The U.S. National Student Association, through the efforts of 1960-61 vice president Timothy Jenkins, arranged a three-week seminar, financed by the New World Foundation, for over a dozen sit-in leaders. Held in Nashville, the seminar concentrated on the social structure of the South, the process of revolution and social change, the necessity of building a cadre of radical leadership; 2) The Kennedy Administration made clear that it believed and was willing to support the idea that the vote, not the lunch counter, must be the ultimate focus of the integration movement. The Administration's judgment was probably colored by the fact that the Democratic Party must gain the support of Southern Negroes to enhance political possibilities in 1962 and 1964, which is not to gainsay the validity of the administration viewpoint; 3) Prominent individuals and foundations met with student representatives from SNCC and promised financial help for massive voter registration efforts. Coupled with the virtual promise of full Justice Department support, the promise of financial help con[illegible] enhanced the possibility of a fruitful voter registration campaign; 4) The standing civil rights groups (e.g., NAACP, CORE, SCLC) are willing to participate in voter registration projects.

The combination of such factors (oversimplified here) presented SNCC with a difficult decision: whether to make voter registration a keystone in SNCC's overall effort. Several questions immediately emerged: Is it possible for us to handle something as complex and comprehensive as voter registration? Does the Negro community see the necessity of registration and citizenship participation, or is it more necessary to concentrate on the massive nonviolent action which has inspired many students and elders to the sense of possibility and dignity which is the end of apathy and the prerequisite of an interest in voting? In other words, is voter registration, as a program, premature? Does mass action really get at basic beyond-the-lunch-counter structures which must be shattered if the South is to be fundamentally altered? Is it possible for a program to embrace both voter registration and direct action, bringing them into a complementary relationship? As involvement in direct action brings with it a deepened spirit of community, does not involvement in voter registration ignite a concern to eradicate injustices beyond the ballot box?

For a brief time, there were two conflicting "camps" within SNCC: one tending in emphasis toward "voter registration" and one toward "direct action." However, after a series of long meetings during the summer of 1961, both "camps" agreed on a plan to initiate an all-out revolutionary program encompassing both mass action and voter registration.

WHY McCOMB?

To understand the choice of McComb for a pilot project, we must trace the actions of Robert Moses [illegible] 1960-1961. During the spring of 1960, Moses, a teacher, spe[illegible] working in the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In July 1960, Moses went to work for SNCC in Atlanta.

Moses was sent on a field trip, specifically to get people from Deep South areas to attend SNCC's fall meeting. Stopping in Cleveland, Mississippi, Moses became acquainted with Aimsie Moore, a militant Negro leader, who convinced him of the potential efficacy of an all-out campaign to register Negro voters.

The adult Negro population of a remote, rural Mississippi county far removed from industrial society do not even possess means of communication among themselves, much less means of commu- [illegible] violent direct action characteristic of the sit-ins. But Moses and Moore saw the possibility of getting out on those dirt roads and into those old broken homes, talking the language and living the life of the oppressed people there, and persuading them to face the trials of registration. That trial passed, a Negro community with an actual voice in local, if not regional, politics, might be built, thereby acquiring the possibility for educational and social reforms. Most of all, a spirit that is vital to the eventual destruction of segregation might replace the spiritual apathy which now characterizes the Negro community.

Moses began drafting a proposal for SNCC to begin a voter registration project in the delta region, where two-thirds of the over-21 population is Negro. It took nearly a year, but this summer Moses was back in Mississippi, SNCC had completed its organizational reshuffling, and the project was ready to begin.

At this point accident again influenced events. The national Negro magazine *Jet* printed a brief note about the proposed Mississippi project. It was read by C. C. Bryant, head of the NAACP chapter in Pike County where McComb is located. Bryant wrote to Moses, indicating the desirability of such a project in the Pike County area. Moses was having difficulty obtaining anything better than deteriorated buildings in which to establish his Voter Registration School in the delta. He went to see Bryant in McComb, found conditions more suitable for immediate action, and decided to establish the project there and in the adjoining counties, Walthall and Amite.

THE PROJECT BEGINS

SNCC, in its attempt to ignite a mass non-violent movement, designated the formidable and sovereign state of Mississippi as the site of its pilot project. Moses moved to McComb, a city of 13,000. He found a number of local adults, high school students, and non-student youth eager to assist him. They provided contacts, housing, some transportation, and (particularly the students) began canvassing the surrounding area, determining the numbers of registered and unregistered voters, informing the citizens of the SNCC program and inviting them to participate. By the end of the first week,

PIKE, AMITE, AND WALTHALL COUNTIES

These are among the most treacherous areas in America for those who are concerned with extending civil rights beyond the white race. The statistical anatomy of the areas is suggestive of conditions:

County	Negroes over 21	Population over 21	% of Negroes	Negroes Registered
[illegible]	8,010 (1960)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1960)
Amite	4,598 (1950)	9,760 (1950)	[illegible]	[illegible] (1950)
	5,010 (1960)		[illegible]	[illegible] (1960)
Walthall*	3,017 (1950)	7,752 (1950)	[illegible]	0

*In Walthall county, it should be noted, the Justice Department early in 1961 filed charges against the registrar for allegedly systematically discriminating against Negro voting. (Ed. Note: The case still awaits resolution.)

(Figures taken from 1950 census and the 1961 Report to the Commission on Civil Rights from the State Advisory Committee to the Federal Civil Rights Commission, Rev. Murray Cox, Gulfport, Chairman. The first section of the latter document illuminates the problem of fact-seekers in Mississippi: "The subcommittee on Negro voter registration has received no official information regarding registration and/or voting of Negroes. Appendix A shows registration and voting figures, by counties, which were received from private sources. Following receipt of Appendix A, a letter of inquiry was sent to registrars of the counties listed in Appendix A, asking whether the information received from private sources was accurate. No replies to this correspondence have been received!")

John Hardy, Nashville, and Reggie Robinson, Baltimore, had arrived as SNCC field representatives to help in the project.

On August 7, 1961, the SNCC Voter Registration School opened in Burglundtown in a combination cinder block-and-paintless wood frame two-story structure which houses a grocery below and a Masonic meeting hall above. A typical voter registration (or citizenship) class involved a study of the Mississippi State Constitution, filling out of sample application forms, description of the typical habits of the Southern registrar—whose discretionary powers are enormous—and primarily attempted the morale building, encouragement and consequent group identification which might inspire the exploited to attempt registration.

On the first day of the school, four persons went down to the registrar's office in nearby Magnolia, the county seat of Pike; three of them registered successfully. Three [illegible] on August 9th; two were registered. Nine went down [illegible] 10th; one was registered. By this time, articles in the [illegible] the (McComb)

Enterprise-Journal, had increased awareness of the project, stirring a few Negroes from Walthall and Amite to come to the McComb classes. However, the thrust of the movement was somewhat blunted on the evening of August 10th when one of the Negroes who had attempted to register was shot at by a white. (It is now clear that the shooting had nothing to do with the attempted registration that day. However, in the minds of the Negro community, for whom the vote is intimately connected with intimidation and violence, the association was made between the two events.) Attendance at the Voter Registration School quickly diminished.

Moses and the others began to rebuild. People were talked to; nights were spent in the most remote areas; days were spent canvassing all around. Then on August 15th, the first of a still continuing series of "incidents" occurred. On that day, Moses drove to Liberty (yes, it is ironic), the county seat of Amite, with three Negroes (Ernest Isaac, Bertha Lee Hughes and Matilda Schoby) who wished to register. Moses was asked to leave the registrar's office while the three attempted to fill out the registration forms. The three claim that while they were so engaged the registrar assisted a white female in answering several of the questions. Upon completing the test, the applicants were told by the registrar that their attempts were inadequate. The registrar then placed the papers in his desk and asked the three not to return for at least six months, at which time presumably they might try further. (I have been told by a reliable Federal source that the tests were not of a quality character.)

Leaving Liberty, driving toward McComb, the group was followed by a highway patrolman, Marshall Carwyle Bates of Liberty, who flagged them over to the side of the road. Bates asked the driver, Isaac, to step out of his car and get inside of the police car in the rear. Isaac complied. Then Moses left the car and walked back to the police car to inquire about the nature of the pull-over. Bates ordered Moses back to the car and shoved him. Thereupon, Moses began to write the Marshall's name on a pad of paper, and was shoved into the car. Moses, incidentally, was referred to as the "nigger who's come to tell the niggers how to register." Finally, the contingent of four Negroes was ordered to drive to the Justice of the Peace's office in McComb, where Moses was eventually charged with impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties, fined $50 [redacted] which alerted the police to his significance. (The local paper called collect the next day, was refused by the Justice Department, and asked editorially why Moses was so priviledged.) The fine was paid by the NAACP in order to appeal the case, and Moses did go to jail for a period of two days, during which he did not eat.

On the same day several other SNCC persons entered Pike

County: Gwendolyn Green, Washington; Travis Britt, New York; William Mitchell, Atlanta; Ruby Doris Smith, Atlanta; James Travis, Jackson; and MacArthur Cotton, Jackson. Responsibilities were divided and the canvassing increased.

REGISTRATION, SIT-INS, AND VIOLENCE

During this same time there had been requests from Negroes in Walthall county to set up a school there. A site for the school and living quarters were offered. John Hardy was selected to go to the area. Along with several others, he established the school on August 18th. About 30 persons attended the first [illegible] ty percent of the Negroes in Walthall are farmers, and 80 [illegible] own their own land The heavy schedule imposed on the farmers at this time of year required that classes be scheduled so as not to conflict with the workday schedule. School was held at the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church and at private homes. Moses came into Amite several days later and remained for nearly a week, teaching and visiting "out the dirt roads" On August 22nd, four Negroes tried to register in Liberty; none succeeded; no incident occurred. By this time, however, dramatic events were occurring in Pike County.

On August 18th, Marion Barry from Nashville, a SNCC field representative particularly concerned with initiating direct action, arrived in McComb. Those students too young to vote, many of whom had canvassed regularly, were eager to participate actively. The Pike County Non-Violent Movement was formed; workshops in the theory and practice of non-violence were held. On August 28th two of the youths, Elmer Hayes and Hollis Watkins (both 18), sat-in at the lunch counter of the local Woolworth's, the first direct action incident in the history of the county. The two were arrested and remained in jail 30 days. The charge: breach of peace. Their arrest set the stage for a mass meeting in McComb on August 29th. The Reverend James Bevel, of Jackson, spoke to a crowd of nearly 200. The paper of the following day carried the story lead, in large type, and the local columnist warned the citizens that the Negroes were not engaged in a mere passing fad, but were serious in intention.

On August 30th, a sit-in occurred at the lunch counter of the local bus station. Isaac Lewis, 20, Robert Talbert, 19, and Brenda Lewis, [redacted] on. They remained in jail for 28 days. By now, a current of [illegible] had been generated throughout the counties. Subsequent events intensified the feeling. On August 29th, Bob Moses took two persons to the registrar's office in Liberty. They were met by Billy Jack Caston (cousin of the sheriff and [illegible] State Representative Eugene Hurst) who was accompanied [illegible] cousin and the son of the sheriff. (Should this seem [illegible] Faulkner.) Cas-

ton smashed Moses across the head and dropped him to the street. The other Negroes were not harmed. Moses' cuts required eight stitches. Moses filed assault and battery charges against Caston, perhaps the first time in the history of Amite that a Negro has legally contested the right of a white man to mutilate him at fancy. Approximately 150 whites attended the trial on August 31st. Among other questions, Caston's attorney asked Moses if he had participated in the riots in San Francisco or Japan; Moses replied that he had not.

he was the plaintiff, before the "not guilty" verdict in order to escape mass assault."

Meanwhile in Walthall, the first attempt to register Negroes since the Justice Department suit of the Spring of 1961 was made. Five persons went to Tylertown, the county seat, with John Hardy. As all businesses close at noon on Thursdays, only two of the five had time to take the test. One was a teacher, the other a senior political science major at Jackson State College (Negro). Both failed. On the same day Hardy, in an interview with the editor of the *Tylertown Times*, made a remark which was interpreted as an endorsement of atheism. This was to "mark" Hardy, if he had not already been marked. On the following evening a mass "encouragement" meeting was held in rural Tylertown; about 80 attended. Again, a mass meeting was held on September 4th to emphasize the significance of the vote and of citizenship.

On September 5th, three Negroes waited two hours in Tylertown, then were informed that the registrar had to attend a meeting and would not be able to register them. The following day another Negro appeared at the registrar's office, and was told to return at a time more convenient for the registrar.

Back in Liberty (Amite county seat), on August 31st, Travis Britt had appeared at the registrar's office with several Negroes. He was told by the registrar to get out of the office. As he stood outside, Bob Moses approached with two witnesses of his August 29th beating to prepare affadavits against Caston. Suddenly two shots were fired outside. Two of the three Negroes attempting to register interrupted their work to rush out, thinking Moses and Britt were in jeopardy. A crowd of whites had gathered, as had police, but the source of the shooting was unclear. At any rate, the office was scheduled to close at noon, which prevented the three from finishing the test. They report that they had been told by the registrar that they could return whenever ready. No incidents occurred outside when they all left, although the white group remained.

NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1961.

Negro Vote Drive in Mississippi Is Set Back as Violence Erupts

Are Afraid—Officials Deny That Any Applicants Have Been Intim

On September 5th, fear became terror throughout the region as a result of the beating of Travis Britt in Liberty. He and Moses accompanied four Negroes to the registrar's office. Let Britt's words tell the story: "There was a clerk directly across the hall who came rushing out while we were waiting, and ordered us to leave the hallway. He said he didn't want a bunch of people congregating in the hall. So we left and walked around the building to the court house, near the registrar's window. By the time we reached the back of the building a group of white men had filed into the hall, in about the same spot we'd been 'congregating' in. They were talking belligerently. Finally one of the white men came to the end of the hall as if looking for someone. He asked us if we knew Mr. Brown. We said no. He said, You boys must not be from around here. We said he was correct. This conversation was interrupted by another white man who approached Bob Moses and started preaching to him: how he should be ashamed coming down here from New York stirring up trouble, causing poor innocent people to lose their homes and jobs, and how he (Bob) was lower than dirt on the ground for doing such a thing, and how he should get down on his knees and ask God forgiveness for every sin of his lifetime. Bob asked him why the people should lose their homes just because they wanted to register and vote. The white gentleman did not answer the question, but continued to preach. He said that the Negro men were raping the white women up North, and that he didn't want and wouldn't allow such a thing to start down here in Mississippi. He went on to say that the Negro in New York was not allowed to own homes or establish businesses so why didn't we go the hell back home and straighten out New York instead of trying to straighten out Mississippi. At this point Bob turned away and sat on the stoop of the court house porch, and the man talking to him took a squatting position. Nobody was [illegible] anything. I reached in my pocket and took out a cigare[illegible] white man, about middle-aged, wearing a khaki shirt [illegible] up to me and

asked 'Boy, what's your business?' at which point I knew I was in trouble. (Recall: Moses had already been beaten earlier, had filed charges, had called Washington, and was much less 'open game' than Britt at this point. T.H.) The clerk from the hallway came to the back door leading to the courthouse with a smile on his face and called to the white man, 'Wait a minute; wait a minute!' At this point, the white man, whom they called Bryant, hit me in my right eye. Then I saw this clerk motion his head as if to call the rest of the whites. They came and all circled around me, and this fellow that was called Bryant hit me on my jaw, then on my chin. Then he slammed me down; instead of falling, I stumbled onto the court house lawn. The crowd (about 15, I think) followed, making comments. He was holding me so tight around the collar; I put my hands on the collar to ease the choking. The clerk hollered 'Why don't you hit him back?' This set off a reaction of punches from this fellow they called Bryant; I counted fifteen; he just kept hitting and shouting, 'Yes, why don't you hit me, nigger? Yes, why don't you hit me, nigger?' I was beaten into a semi-conscious state. My vision was blurred by the punch in the eye. I heard Bob tell me to cover my head to avoid any further blows to the face. I told Bryant if he was through beating me, I was ready to go. The clerk said, yes, I should go. Then this guy they called Bryant yelled, 'Brothers, shall we kill him here?' I was extremely frightened by the sincere way he said it. No one in the crowd answered the question, and Bryant (I found out his last name was Jones) released me. Moses then took me by the arm and took me to the street, walking cautiously to avoid any further kicks or blows. The Negro fellow that had been taking the registration test gave up in the excitement, and we saw him in his truck. The white men advised him to get the hell out of town, saying they were surprised that he was associating with our kind." Charges were not pressed.

On September 7th, John Hardy accompanied two persons to the registrar's office at Tylertown. The two were informed by the registrar that he didn't want to have anything to do with them because he was already involved in a suit with the Federal government. Says Hardy: "I entered the office to ask why. The registrar, John Woods, had seen me on one other occasion, the 30th. After telling him my name, he came out very insultingly and boisterously questioning my motives and reasons for being in Mississippi and said I [illegible] back where I came from. He reached into his desk drawer and ordered me out at gunpoint. As I turned to leave he struck me over the head with the pistol. I left his office and walked about a block. I decided to go to the sheriff's office to report the assault and possibly make charges. But this was not necessary because the sheriff found me. He said 'come with him or he would beat me within an inch of your life.' After being put in jail (the charges was resisting arrest and inciting a riot, and later disorderly conduct) I was interrogated at length by a city attorney and later by the district attorney. About 7:30 I was taken to Magnolia jail for 'your own protection.' I was in jail until the following night."

The Hardy case deserves more than outrage. It holds the possibility of legal response which might form a precedent against the state's using its official machinery to interfere with civil rights. John Doar of the U.S. Justice Department, Civil Rights Division, charged that if Hardy were tried and convicted, Negroes would be discouraged from attempting to vote (an action constituting a violation of the Civil Rights Act), and irreparable damage would be done the nation. Subsequently, the Federal government has been striving to prevent Hardy's trial. On September 6th, the Justice Department, filing its complaint before U.S. District Judge Harold Cox in Meridian, Mississippi, asked for court orders forbidding intimidation or coercion of Negroes seeking to vote in Walthall and appealed for prevention of the Hardy trial.

On September 21st, Judge Cox declined to stop the state court trial. Among his remarks, as quoted by the Associated Press: "It is difficult to conceive how the United States can possibly be irreparably damaged by this criminal case down in Walthall County, Mississippi." "While it must be presumed that John Hardy is guilty of everything with which he is charged, it must likewise be presumed that justice will be done in the trial of the case." "This incident occurred September 7th and the government waited until September 20th to ask for instant relief. It looks like the government has a self-made emergency." "(It would be improper) for me to permit a clash of the sovereignty of the state and Federal governments on such a case."

The Federal government announced it would next appeal to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, in Montgomery, Alabama. On October 4th, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall argued before the Montgomery Court that Walthall is a place of "many lynchings." He accused Mississippi of a "trumped-up charge" in the Hardy case, which was "an attempt to intimidate them to prevent them from registering to vote." A Mississippi assistant attorney general, Edward Cates, responded (according to A.P.) that the Federal government is seeking to "condemn a whole state without evidence," that Fed- [illegible] afraid to try to register following Hardy's arrest. [illegible] tribunal is presently (October 13th) considering the case, with no outcome yet announced. (ED. NOTE: The Justice Department suit has been successful.)

CULMINATING IN DEATH

A little over two weeks after the Hardy beating, Mississippi terrorism reached a peak in the killing of a 52-year-old Negro, Herbert Lee. (The following information has been obtained from several private sources.) Lee was a member of the Amite NAACP. When SNCC came to Mississippi, Lee became an active, dedicated worker, assisting Moses in meeting people and arranging get-togethers. He [illegible] the morning of September 25th, he arose early, prepared to go to Liberty to gin cotton. As Lee drove his truck into Liberty, he was followed by Mississippi State Representative Eugene Hurst. Hurst and Lee had known each other for quite some time. Lee's brother, Frank, had apparently once purchased some of Hurst's land in Louisiana. In 1956 Hurst helped Lee get a cut in the cost of some land which Lee wanted to purchase. (The reduction was from $9,000 to $7,000.) Lee in turn promised Hurst a "tip" of some $500 upon completion of Lee's payments on his land. On September 25th, Lee had paid more than $6,500 on the land and was carrying a total of $287 in his pocket.

There had reportedly been a recent economic crackdown in the whole area. The white community was circulating a list of names of those Negroes seriously involved in the voter registration or NAACP "movements"; many were being cut off from basic commodities. Mr. Steptoe, the NAACP head in Amite, received a letter, for instance, telling him to pay off his debts . . . Such was the situation that morning in Liberty, Mississippi. When Lee stopped his truck that morning, Hurst, who is the father-in-law of Billy Jack Caston, did the same. Hurst got out of his truck, and approached Lee, carrying a .38 in his hand. Lee remained in the cab of his truck. An argument ensued, partly about debts owed, partly about the .38, and partly about a tire tool Lee was alleged to be holding in the cab. Apparently the two challenged each other to put down their respective weapons. Hurst put his gun inside his belt. Lee edged across the seat, attempting to get out on the far side of the truck, which caused Hurst to run around the front of the truck. There Hurst is alleged to have said, "You didn't use the tire tool when you had it, and you're not going to use it now." Two motions followed, both by Hurst. The second motion was a downward thrust of the arm, a shot, and Lee was on his stomach with a .38 bullet in his brain. Hurst left the scene. Lee was left on the ground fully two hours before he was taken to the Negro coroner in McComb. A tire tool was near his body. A coroner's jury, after hearing whites but no Negro witnesses, ruled that the killing was in self-defense, and thereby a justifiable homicide. Hurst was never booked, charged, or tried.

In a county such as Amite, its caste system uninfluenced by the movement of ideas in the rest of the United States and the world,

the tradition identified in 1937 by John Dollard (*Caste and Class in a Southern Town*) is still relevant: "one of the best ways for a politician to get notoriety was to kill a Negro; such an act would speed him on the way to getting office and reveal that his sentiments on the race question were sound." When appraising the effect of the Lee killing, it is well to bear in mind that it happened at a moment when the Negro's hope of gaining the vote was rising once again, that it was executed with apparently the full support of the white [illegible] that the privileged assailant is himself a [illegible] political power which the Negro vote would presumably seek to undercut, and that he is a symbol connected [illegible] pattern of killing for political reputation. All of these factors influence the effect of the slaying regardless of whether or not Hurst actually killed Lee deliberately for his part in voter registration.

A week later a little scrawled but mimeographed sign went out:

Bulletin
Mass Meeting for Voter Registration
Oct. 2nd, Tuesday
Guest Speaker
Rev. Charles Jones
From Charlotte, N. C.
Masonic Hall 630 Warren
7:30
Collection will be taken for the
wife and ten children of
Mr. Herbert Lee.

The Pike County Non-Violent Movement, perhaps the youngest and most challenged in the South, was resuming operation. The five sit-inners had returned from jail. On October 3rd, the mass meeting was held. Parents attended and spoke. People stressed that the corrupt government which permitted Lee's death could only be eliminated if Negroes registered. A total of $81 was collected for Lee's wife and ten children. An unarticulated decision was made: If Brenda Travis and Ike Lewis were not re-admitted to Burgland High School, the students would protest. On the next day, the Negro high school principal, Commodore Dewey Higgins, ruled that the two would not be re-admitted to Burgland High School. For personal reasons, Lewis, 20 years old, had decided not to return to school. Brenda, however, had demanded entrance.

THE STUDENT WALKOUT

Chaos . . . during the previous day Martin Luther King sent an open telegram to President Kennedy [illegible] "reign of terror" in McComb, and calling the Executive's attention to recent beatings. Several new SNCC people, returning from a [illegible] national trip

in quest of funds for bond for the sit-inners, had arrived in McComb on the morning of the 4th. Among those arriving was Robert Zellner, a white man from Alabama who, as a white, was even more susceptible to mob hostility than a Negro, though in no sense could the Negro SNCC representatives feel secure.

The students—remember, 100 under 18 years of age—spent the mid-day preparing signs, and at about 2:30 P.M., they started to march downtown. Never before in McComb—never before in an area so rural, so violent—never before *anywhere in the South* with students so very young. One of them, 13 years old, has been charged with "assault with intent to kill" because she ran over the foot of a white woman in a supermarket with a push-cart, and, subsequently, the two slapped each other. That is simply an example. The others, while a little older, suffer the same system and are moved by the same courage. And so they went downtown—with 119 in all, including 19 students over age 18, Bob Moses, Charles McDew and Robert Zellner. They walked through the Negro neighborhoods where families watched from the windows and steps and yards, through the downtown business district, down to the edge of McComb, and back up to City Hall. There the march halted. Elmer Hayes, one of the original McComb sit-inners, began to pray on the steps. Three times the police asked him to move on. He refused and was arrested. Then it was Lewis, Talbert, and 16-year-old Brenda, in order, all arrested, Brenda violating juvenile parole. Each individual in the march stood quietly, waiting to be arrested. Moments before, a white man had tried to run over them with his automobile; now there were whites on foot, yelling, cursing. And each of the 114 left was quietly standing. Too much time was being taken up, so the police blew their whistles and pronounced everyone under arrest.

The whole march started up the stairs, on its way to be booked. As they did, a local white citizen reached out for Zellner and began to beat him. Hurting Zellner with the first punch, the man then grabbed him around the neck and began choking him and gouging his eyes. Then Bob Moses and Charles McDew were there, one holding the white's wrists, one clasping Zellner in protection. Moses and McDew were struck and dragged into the station by police, who then pulled in Zellner. The first statement inside the Police [illegible] to Zellner was "Ought to leave you out [illegible] 18 years of age were arraigned on October 5th, after a night in Pike County Jail. Before Judge Robert W. Brumfield of McComb's Police Court, they pled innocent to charges of disturbing the peace; bond was $100 each. Nine also pled innocent to the charge of contributing to delinquency of minors; bond was $200 each. Trial was set for 9 A.M., October 23rd.

The nine charged on both counts were:

Curtis E. Hayes
Isaac Lewis
Stephen Ashley
Hollis Watkins
Robert Talbert
Robert Moses
Charles McDew
Donald Gadson
(John) Robert Zellner.

The high school students, meanwhile, refused to compromise their stand, as announced in the statement which they distributed:

> "We the Negro youth of Pike County, feel that Brenda Travis and Ike Lewis should not be barred from acquiring an education for protesting an injustice. We feel that as members of Burgland High School, they have fought this battle for us. To prove that we appreciate their having done this, we will suffer any punishment they have to take with them.
>
> "In the schools we are taught democracy, but the rights offered by democracy have been denied us by our oppressors; we have not had a balanced school system; we have not had an opportunity to participate in any of the branches of our local, state, and federal government; however, we are children of God who makes our fellowmen to love rather than hate, to build rather than tear down, to bind our nation with love and justice without regard to race, color, or creed."

Why only 100 students in a school of 600? A few of the others perhaps were opposed to change in the community. Many more, however, were clearly sympathetic with the revolt but either afraid, or in conflict with parents, or tied economically to the white system.

And as for those who went to jail? "You get kind of hard," said McDew, "after two or three days without eating, laying on the floor with the window busted out. It is cold in McComb at night." Beyond the question of physical health hazards, the crucial problem was the threats on the life of McDew, Moses and Zellner. By this time, everyone in the city knew them; they'd been photographed, facial close-ups appearing in the *Enterprise-Journal*, and now, in jail over the night, not far from the area where Charles Mack Parker was [illegible] fronted for four hours by a steady run of staring, [illegible] visitors. "Do you believe in Jesus Christ?" was the question of a hostile local minister. "Do you believe that God is love?" was the question in return. "You don't believe in Jesus Christ, do you, you son-of-a-bitch; you'll go to hell and I'm [illegible] see you get there soon." Four hours of threats and hate [illegible]

The night passed, without death. The SNCC members were re-

leased on bond, and the next day the students solidified their commitment.

Brenda Travis, having broken parole by committing an offense within 30 days of her last one, is sentenced to one year in Colored Girls Industrial School, a detention home near Oakley, Mississippi. Until she is re-admitted, the students claim, they will not re-enter high school.

First they were told to return to school—after signing the follow-

> This is to advise that I am aware of the regulation of the McComb School Board concerning student walkouts in the McComb school system. This is to further advise that I have participated in such a walkout and am now asking for re-admission on probation. I also acknowledge that should I participate in a second school walkout that I shall be automatically expelled for the next school year.

They refused. They were a little scared; they felt odd without any history of Negro protest with which to identify because the sovereign state of their birth does not tell history honestly. They were almost all without planned futures. They were even giggling like kids that age do in Northern suburbs, but they refused—again and again.

On October 12th, Moses and McDew taught them classes in their new "non-violent high school," the Negro Masonic Temple. The next week SNCC people taught other subjects: history, for example which the Mississippi school system presents in a thick book with a Confederate flag on one cover and the capitol of Mississippi on the other, and which tells of the "War of Northern Aggression," the positive aspects of slavery, the heroism of the Ku Klux Klan in the South's series of crisis.

The high school administration has declared that any student who has not signed the affadavit is thereby expelled for the rest of the year. Unless I miss my guess, most will not sign those slips. They'll take classes from SNCC or go to school elsewhere, and perhaps they'll petition the white school for admittance, and they'll take it to the courts, and someday they will win. (Ed. Note: See "Retrospect" at end of pamphlet.)

• • • • • •

Perhaps this situation cannot be adequately conveyed. Does it become more real in noting that a white man connected with the broadcasting system there sees the solution to the problem in "throwing those little niggers in one bag, castrating them, and dropping the bag in the river?" Does it become more real in visualizing Herbert Lee lying on his face for two hours? Does it become real in recognizing

that those Negroes are down there, digging in, and in more danger than nearly any student in this American generation has faced? What does it take? When do we begin to see it all not as remote but as breathing urgency into our beings and meaning into our ideals? James Baldwin said last year that these kids are the only really free people in the country; perhaps he is right. They have decided not only to protest but to seek social transformation as well, and that is revolution. They have decided it is time right now—not

[redacted]

and body if necessary for social justice, for [redacted] life, and for the creation of dignity for [redacted] for us all.

MY BRIEF CONTACT WITH McCOMB

I am reluctant to discuss my brief role in McComb because it was insignificant in contrast with the activity of others. My bruises do not compare with the suffering there. My trip, however, received far more publicity than anyone had expected, and as I had an opportunity to explore the white community and to confer later with the Justice Department, I suppose it merits brief mention. I learned of the danger in McComb, was frustrated at the relative absence of newsmen there at a moment when their presence might in itself be protective and mitigating, and therefore decided to go on down for two or three days to obtain information, analyze attitudes, and do some writing. I was accompanied by NSA National Affairs Vice-President, Paul Potter. In our rush I was unable to obtain clear credentials from the several New York magazines and papers I spoke to by phone; however, I left without them, assuming that it was possible to avoid such problems even in McComb.

We arrived in McComb about 8:30 A.M. on October 9th, the first morning that the students went back to Burglund High to return their unsigned affadavits. We talked with Oliver Emmerich, the editor of the *Enterprise-Journal* and the *Jackson State News*, and Chief of Police George Guy among others that day.

They were both hospitable and hostile, a duality infecting the life of many a Southerner. Emmerich briefly traced the history of the Negro from "back when you couldn't have them in your living room" to an unspecified "more civilized state." He seemed strongly conscious of the Southern past, especially the reversal of Mississippi's economic fortunes after the War when "forced mass Negro voting was ruinous."

"There is no hatred of the Negro in the South, but this agitation is causing it now . . . the protest last [redacted] manufactured . . . the student body as a whole seems [redacted] and regretful. Hos-

tility is being created, communication between the races broken down." Emmerich said he is not a racist, and that some of his best friends are Negroes. In ninety minutes of conversation, he did not suggest that any form of desegregation was desirable. We were told later that he is the most moderate of Mississippi's state leaders. He was beaten ten years ago for editorializing against a police whipping of an arrested Negro youth (and again in Dec. 1961 for befriending "outside" newsmen reporting the McComb incidents...Ed.)

Chief Guy, born and raised in McComb, was frank and explicit in his racial views. He feels that the Negroes are "better treated down here than any place in the world. We pay 'em, support their schools with taxes, work 'em. But they know they're niggers; they know their place." He had in his desk several photographs of the SNCC representatives, taken by Emmerich's photographer. Pointing out the white representative, Zellner, Chief Guy said: "They'll kill him if he comes back down here. We can't keep him protected. We don't go for that mixing stuff."

That night we talked at some length with McDew, and since the phone conversation was monitored in some manner, it was known in the morning that we'd seen and spoken to him, that we were Northerners and integrationists.

Tuesday: intimidation and violence! Chief Guy telling me to get my story from McDew, if I was so interested in talking to him . . . white men threatening us with violence . . . and finally in the afternoon, a very systematic beating. We were parked in our car outside the high school watching the kids march out when the police first came over and asked about our identity. The conversation was something like: "You sure aren't gathering much information sitting around with your windows rolled up." "We try but we can't protect everyone around here, especially outsiders like yourselves." Finally they asked us to drive down to the police station to be better identified. We started off, with a police car trailing. We drove parallel to the march, through the Negro section of McComb. I stopped at a red light, and noticed in the rear-view mirror that the police had turned off three blocks back. As I began to mention it to Paul, the right door was ripped open by a white man, Carl Hayes, who pulled Paul into the street and beat him. He then came after me, struck me on the head and across the kidneys in the car, dragged me to the street, kicked me once, struck me again and once again, then

students still marching by us. Then the police "escort" arrived, asking what had happened. While I was telling, a fat, almost stereotypical Southern racist was screaming in a high voice that Paul and I had been fighting and fell out of the car on our heads, and now we were trying to blame a white man for having hit us. In the scrambling, a person whose identity can't be exposed told us to leave the motel that night because "they are coming to take you." Beyond

any doubt said person received his information from the city police force. Later we were interviewed by the investigator from the Sovereignty Commission. He told us that racial trouble was caused by Communists, mostly outside of the state, and that if he were sheriff he'd arrest us for vagrancy, as we'd been in Mississippi nearly two days without sufficient explanation of our identity. Meanwhile, as a wire service later reported, whites were breaking into the camera of the photographer who'd been on the scene to take pictures of the assault and the beating itself; but the negatives had already been hidden.

October 12, 1961

RETROSPECT, November 7, 1961

It is just a week since the trial in McComb. The results can be related quickly. Bob Moses, Charles McDew, and Robert Zellner of SNCC were convicted on the charge of breach of peace, receiving a sentence of four months and $200 fine; the other charge against them, contributing to the delinquency of minors, will be adjudicated in a week or two. McDew and Zellner left jail to continue their work in the rest of the South. Moses will remain in Magnolia jail. Stephen Ashley, James Wells, Ivory Diggs, Lee Chester Vick, Myrtis Bennett, Lee Otis Eubanks, Harold Robinson, and Janie Campbell, all from McComb and all over 18 years of age, were similarly convicted and are in jail, hoping for bond money to be raised soon enough to permit them to return to their new school in Jackson. Curtis Hayes, Ike Lewis, Hollis Watkins and Robert Talbert, all McComb second offenders, were sentenced to six months and fined $500; they too are waiting in jail. Brenda Travis, the juvenile parole-breaker, is still serving her year sentence to the detention home.

Nearly 75 of the remaining high school students are attending Campbell State, a school in Jackson.

Twenty-five Negroes have registered in Pike County. Voter Registration and Citizenship Schools, under growing local leadership, meet regularly in all the counties. Nearby Marion County is the newest scene of local interest in voter registration.

The SNCC direct action staff has set its headquarters in Jackson, and they are slowly building what the press glamorously calls a "nonviolent army."

lishing contact with action centers throughout the [illegible], [illegible] raise money, planning a conference for the spring.

Carl Hayes, our closely-photographed assailant, was arrested by McComb police. Paul Potter wrote a letter to the prosecuting attorney of McComb, requesting that a [illegible] be set and that we be contacted if witnesses were needed. [illegible], Police Chief Guy wrote a brief letter of reply: "Regarding your letter of October 26th.

Mr. Carl Hayes was tried on October 27th, pled guilty and was fined $100 and a thirty day suspended sentence given Mr. Hayes. Hoping this answers your question. As to your returning for trial, it will not be necessary."

THE

FREEDOM

RIDES

5 NEGROES BEATEN BY MISSISSIPPI MOB

...ers Attacked in McComb
—Crowd Shouts 'Kill 'Em'

By CLAYBORNE CARSON

McCOMB, Miss., Pa...

The illogic of segregation once confronted can bring a human mind or a human city into convulsion, and sometimes to madness. That is what is happening in McComb where, ironically, the first desegregation of a Mississippi interstate terminal has occurred.

To keep a Negro from sitting in a waiting room of wooden chairs; to keep him from eating and relaxing in a bus station restaurant while on a long trip; to keep him from buying a ticket at the "white" window; more deeply, to keep him from any kind of equal status with the white man; to keep him from that first simple bus station meal which could lead to the fulfillment of his larger aspirations; to keep him from shattering the rigid system in which the racist falsely integrates and regulates his being; to keep him from this, mobs roved the streets, threatening death to "any nigger who leaves his place." But it was not sufficient. City officials were forced to relent to a Federal court order and, even more ironically, *protect* Negroes wishing to use the terminal—the reverse of the controlled state pattern during the Freedom Rides, when police *arrested* Negroes for breach of the peace to "protect" them from the possibility of violence.

The chronology of events is rapidly traced:

November 1. An Interstate Commerce Commission order to desegregate interstate transportation facilities became effective.

November 3. The Justice Department initiated proceedings against the city of McComb, which continued to enforce terminal segregation by the use of signs. Chief George Guy blundered in a way that Jackson police never did throughout all the Freedom Rides, when he told the judges that state breach of peace laws were used to keep Negroes out of the "wrong" waiting room. The breach of peace law, passed last year, is ostensibly used to prevent violence,

not enforce segregation. The suit was successful; a three-judge Federal Court ordered immediate desegregation of the terminal.

Novembes 27. As the orders were received, McComb Mayor C. H. Douglas announced that officials would "throw it (the terminal) open and see what happens"; he said that breach of the peace statutes wouldn't be utilized "unless somebody gets his head skinned down there."

[illegible] New Orleans CORE, arrived by bus at [illegible] because of a "gas leak", the terminal was closed; it wo[illegible] afternoon. Shortly afterward, a photographer free-lancing [illegible] was beaten in the streets by several whites.

When the CORE "riders" returned in a taxi that afternoon and walked up to the entrance of the white waiting room, no policemen were in sight. An elderly white man in a gray felt hat and work-stained clothes blocked the way and sought to persuade them not to enter. But he stepped aside an[illegible] the five filed into the joint waiting room and cafe, past the brightly lighted pinball machines and back to the lunch counter in the rear.

Jerome Smith walked over to the ticket window and the four other students took seats at the lunch counter. George Raymond asked twice in a firm voice for service. He was ignored. A. P. McGehee, operator of the bus terminal, walked behind the counter. Tapping his finger on the counter for emphasis, he told each of them: "Greyhound does not own this building; Greyhound does not own this restaurant. You get out of here."

At this point, a white youth grabbed a half-filled cup of coffee from a table and walked rapidly down the line of stools at the counter. When he reached Raymond, he struck him sharply at the base of the skull with the cup and saucer, spilling coffee over Raymond's head and back.

Smith then waved to the four others to join him in a row of seats at the front of the waiting room. As they got up to move, a short, wiry white man of about 35 jumped at the Negro leader and began beating him with his fists.

Smith doubled over and ducked his head under a rain of blows to the back of the neck, the shoulder, the stomach. "I'll kill him! I'll kill him! I'll kill him!" yelled the white.

The assailants then shoved and kicked the students through the door. In the street, the mob tossed one of the youths into the air again and again, kicking and beating him as he struck the pavement. The other students were also beaten brutally before they escaped in a taxi.

A Mississippi reporter recounted the [illegible] as follows: "At about that time the man who had asked [illegible] to move on was called to the ticket office to sell a ticket. While his attention was distracted,

What is care? Something that cannot be understood by any who place less than absolute value on life; something articulated once by Ignazio Silone:

> "I am convinced that it would be a waste of time to show a people of intimated slaves a different manner of speaking, a different manner of gesticulating; but perhaps it would be worthwhile to show them a different way of living. No word and no gesture can be more persuasive than the life, and if necessary, the death, of a man who strives to be free . . . a man who shows what a man can be."

Extreme words these. But the time for man has come.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Nathaniel M. Minkoff, *President*
William H. Kilpatrick, *Chairman of the Board*
Joseph Schlossberg, *Treasurer*
Harry W. Laidler, *Executive Director Emeritus*

Vice-Presidents:
John C. Bennett
M. J. Coldwell
Frank P. Graham
A. J. Hayes
John Haynes Holmes
Alexander Meiklejohn
Ernest Nagel
Mark Starr
Vera Rony, *Executive Secretary*

Executive Committee
Harry Fleischman, *Chairman*
Albert Blumenthal
LeRoy Bowman
Thomas R. Brooks
Max Delson
Isabelle B. Friedman
Murray Gross
Michael Harrington
Julius Manson
Isaiah Minkoff
Emanuel Muravchik
Aryeh Neier
Andrew E. Norman
Marvin Rich
Clarence Senior
Rowland Watts
Pearl Willen

STUDENTS FOR [illegible]

National Executive Committee
Robert A[illegible], New York City, *President*
Robert Rose, University of Michigan, *Vice-President*
Mark Acuff, University of New Mexico
Becky Adams, Swarthmore College
Paul Booth, Swarthmore College
Donald Freeman, Western Reserve University
Betty German, University of California
Sandra Cason Hayden, Atlanta, Georgia
Sharon Jeffrey, University of Michigan
Tim Jenkins, Yale Law School
Dan Johnston, University of Iowa
Steve Max, New York City
James Monsonis, Yale University
John Robert Zeltner, Atlanta, Georgia

Staff
Thomas Hayden, New York City and Atlanta, field representative
Curtis Gans, Chapel Hill, N. C., field representative
Harlon Joye, New school for Social Research (New York City), Western editor
Jon Eisen, Oberlin (Ohio) College, Activist editor
Walter Lively, Philadelphia, Northern civil rights project
Jerry Schwartz, University of Indiana, peace and disarmament project
Richard Jones, New York City, Administrative Assistant

the Negroes were hustled out of the waiting room by several men who apparently were angered by their actions." The reporter went on to state with seeming indifference that as of that night the police had not located the Negroes.

November 30. After private phone calls and public declarations of concern from Robert Kennedy, the city decided to comply with federal orders. Under a threat of going to a federal penitentiary for disobeying the District Court injunction order, Mayor Douglas reluctantly made an announcement:

> "We did not make the law at the local level, but it is our purpose to enforce it. We are determined to this end."

He hastened to add: "McComb, known for years as the 'Camelia City of America', is a beautiful and enlightened community. Our whites and colored people have long enjoyed mutual respect and friendship. We do not intend to permit this relationship to be marred by the unfortunate publicity involved in the situation." Mayor Douglas described the Freedom Riders as a "sudden influx of outside professional agitators who came with the announced intention of remaining in our city until an incident is provoked and photographed."

The influential Jackson papers concurred with the Mayor's remarks, and elaborated. The *Clarion-Ledger's* news columns used "friction riders" instead of "freedom riders," and declared that the beating was a "regretable vindication" of the Jackson policy of arresting each of the 330 Freedom Riders on breach of the peace charges before crowds could gather. When the McComb violence erupted, *Jackson Daily News* editor Jimmy Ward had just finished speculating that the joining of the Communist Party by 93 year old W. E. B. Dubois (a leader of the NAACP in the early part of the century and a prominent Negro man of letters) was a prelude to the immanent exposure of the rest of the NAACP leadership. In analyzing the McComb situation, Ward deplored the outbreak of violence—the first violence, he said, in a state which had received the Freedom Riders with "patience, endurance, tolerance, and kindness." It was Ward's second interpretation of the Freedom Rides; when they began in the late spring he declared their goal was to permit Negroes to stand "hip-to-hip" with whites at public toilets.

[illegible] the "minor incident" in McComb. One article mentioned that it was the second incident there; two white men (ourselves), the paper said, were beaten a month ago. Coincidentally, this was the same view Oliver Emmerich expressed to *Newsweek* a short time ago: "Nothing's happened except one white man beating two white men." (A remark made shortly before Emmerich himself was beaten. Only violence toward white men seems "out of the ordinary."—Ed.)

December 1. One month after ICC ruling, McComb "integrated" its terminal. With FBI agents, representatives of the Justice Department, police, press, 400 howling citizens in the streets, and thousands more waiting anxiously in their homes, six Riders, members of New Orleans and Baton Rouge CORE, marched into the terminal. Their names: George Raymond, Claude Reese, Jean Thompson, Willie Bradford, Patricia Tate, and Thomas Peete. In the terminal restaurant the chairs were upon tables and seats untwisted from stools. The previously white waiting room, however, was open. The six entered, stayed a moment while the mob watched, then quickly hurried outside to a car and left the scene.

In the meantime, four newsmen—a *Life* photographer and reporter, a *Time* reporter, and an AP photographer—were beaten in downtown McComb. They were not hospitalized. Later that day, Mayor Douglas announced his intention to seek a Federal court injunction to prevent more Freedom Riders from entering the city: "The fact has already been established that McComb authorities will not violate the injunction of the Federal Court . . . ," he declared, and therefore the Federal court should prevent further tests of the facilities. (Several days later, the court complied with the Mayor's request . . . Ed.)

December 2. Three young Negro high school students, once of McComb, returned there today by bus. They entered the terminal, were met by a local person in a car—and police pulled attackers away as they began to smash at the car. The three were James Vurnhan, Joe Lewis, and Jerome Byrd. A fourth McComb student, MacArthur Cotton (one of the first sit-inners) was slugged by a white man as he tried to purchase a ticket to return to Campbell State College in Jackson.

Thus it is for the present. A final note: chances are better now that the thirteen in Magnolia County jail (strange how neglected they were in the last week of publicity) will be bailed out; twelve can then go back to school and the thirteenth, Bob Moses, can proceed again.

• • • • • •

Time and day-by-day life go on in McComb, though the reading public will find fresh amusements in the news pages. The turning away is unfortunate, though to be expected—after all, they ask, what is rare about racial strife? We value life in relative, not absolute, [illegible] around the world [illegible]

TRUE COPY

[redacted] b7C

November 3, 1964

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I have recently received literature from an organization known as the "Students for a Democratic Society." This organization openly claims to be a socialistic group. Could you please send me any information you may have on this organization. I would especially like to know if it has any connections with the Communist Party or communism.

Thank you,

[redacted] b7C

REC-51

NOV 9

CORRESPONDENCE

[redacted] b7C

November 3, 1964

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I have recently received literature from an organization known as the "Students for a Democratic Society." This organization openly claims to be a socialistic group. Could you please send me any information you may have on this organization. I would especially like to know if it has any connections with the Communist Party or communism.

Thank you,

[redacted] b7C

CORRESPONDENCE

M1

November 9, 1964

REC-5 -1/1 11-46

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

NOV 9 10 36 AM '64
FEL-TELETYPE READING ROOM
F B I

Your letter of November 3rd has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. In view of this, I am sure you will understand why I cannot comment concerning the Students for a Democratic Society. In addition, I hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files regarding this organization.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 6
NOV 9 - 1964
COMM-FBI

NOTE Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent. A preliminary inquiry is being conducted by the New York Office regarding the Students for a Democratic Society to determine whether any of the national officers of the Students for a Democratic Society have any subversive affiliations.

M:deh
(6)

NOV 9 1964

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: 11/12/64

FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (100-14283)(RUC)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

Re New York letter to Bureau 9/25/64.

On November 3, 1964, [redacted] advised SA [redacted] b7c
[redacted] he had received no additional communications from captioned organization, and has received no information from other sources which would identify the officers who were elected at the June, 1964 SDS convention.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-148047)(RM)
1 - Indianapolis

GHA-b
(5)

SEC-1 100-439048-47

ST-109

NOV 16 1964

CIT. SEC.

Save by U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

4-528

48

CHANGED TO

454495-5-2

MAR 3 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: DEC 2 1964

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047) [redacted]

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReBulet 9/1/64, to New York, and Bureau airtel [redacted] to Boston and New York 11/19/64.

ReBulet requested New York to identify personnel of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the National Office, including officers of the organization and to determine if any of these individuals have any affiliation with subversive organizations.

[redacted] made available a copy of a letter dated [redacted] signed by JIM WILLIAMS on letterhead stationery of SDS, 119 5th Avenue, Room 302, New York, New York. The left-hand margin contained the following: [redacted]

"PAUL POTTER, President
VERNON GRIZZARD, Vice President
C. CLARK KISSINGER, National Secretary
RENNIE DAVIS, Director, Economic Research and Action Project
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
PAUL BOOTH, Director, Peace Research and Education Project".
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

The letter set out that this is the time to abolish the "HUAC". The letter stated that "ANNE BRADEN has written a pamphlet which documents the HUAC's ability to hinder the civil rights effort." The letter urged that the pamphlet be circulated on campus and among friends

(2) Bureau (RM)
2-Philadelphia (100-) (INFO) (RM)
1-Albany (100-) (INFO) (RM)
1-New York (41)

REC-55
EX-101

jw
(6)

DEC 11 1964

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-148047

to urge congressmen to vote against the HUAC on 1/4/65.

Concerning PAUL POTTER, President; RENNIE DAVIS, Director; and PAUL BOOTH, Director, the NYO files contain no information identifiable with these individuals.

[redacted] MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] b7C

VERNON GRIZZARD MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

The 1963-1964 Student Directory for Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, reflects that VERNON GRIZZARD was a student at Swarthmore at that time.

[redacted] b1

NY 00-148047

[redacted] b1

[redacted] b1

[redacted] b1

repo was given by JAMES R. BERLAND of the Reed College CP Y th Club concerning a meeting of the National Party Yout Commission (CP) previously held in New York City.

The informant stated that BERLAND's report indi ted that one of the four main points taken up in the York City meeting concerned SDS and its prob ms. BERLAND indicated that SDS was weak nationally but me local chapters were strong. It was noted that SDS d an incorrect political orientation, being too far t on some issues and not far enough on others, and that LS did not follow the Marxist theory for the most part BERLAND's report noted that LARRY GORDON was one of t speakers at the New York City conference whose opin n was that the CP could work through the SDS and achi e the aims of the CP.

BERLAND stated that as a result of this meeting of t National Party Youth Commission it was decided to [redacted]

wor through the SDS in areas where there are strong local SDS chapters. BERLAND noted that LARRY GORDON is working thr gh the SDS at Swarthmore, and that after the party youth con rence he, BERLAND, and GORDON went down to Swarthmore whe they spoke with, "KEN and VERNON", two Executives of SDS t Swarthmore. According to BERLAND, KEN and VERNON know GOR ON as a CP member and GORDON wants to recruit them int the party at Swarthmore.

[redacted] b1.

CHA LES CLARK KISSINGER, Jr. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

The June 28, 1963, issue of the "Daily Cardinal", a student campus publication at the University of Wisconsin, Ma son, Wisconsin, identified C. CLARK KISSINGER as Cha man of the Wisconsin Socialist Club (WSC) for the Su er, 1963 session.

A characterization of the WSC is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

The February 12, 1964, issue of the "Daily Ca inal" carried an article announcing the formation of newly organized student campus organization, SDS, an quoted its Chairman C. CLARK KISSINGER to that ef t. The article stated that KISSINGER, who was also a mber of the Socialist Club, stated that SDS calls it lf "a left liberal organization" associated with a na onal group and formed at the University of Wisconsin be use the other leftist campus groups have a specific po t of view or concentrate on a single issue.

[redacted] b7d

NY 100-148047

[redacted]

b1

Records of [redacted] as of February 12, 1963, reflected that CHARLES CLARK KISSINGER, Jr. was a married male, born December 14, 1940, at Mc Leansboro, Illinois; after obtaining a BS Degree in August, 1960, and a MA Degree in June, 1960, from the University of Chicago, he matriculated at the University of Wisconsin as a graduate student, September 17, 1962, majoring in mathematics.

[redacted] b7E

[redacted] it was ascertained that C. CLARK KISSINGER had completed his studies at the University of Wisconsin and had moved to New York City to accept a job. He left a forwarding address which reads: c/o Students for a Democratic Society, Room 302, 119 5th Avenue, New York, New York.

The September 25, 1964, issue of "Cornell Daily Sun", a daily student newspaper at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, carried both an article and editorial concerning the formation on the Cornell campus of the branch of SDS.

The editorial identified SDS as "an organization of young people of the left" with NORMAN THOMAS as one of its national advisors and stated that the preamble to its proposed charter stated that SDS deals with the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterpoised to authoritarian movements both of Communism and of the domestic right. It is further identified as having chapters on over 30 college campuses and as being the youth organization of WALTER RUTHER's League for Industrial Democracy.

100-148047

ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, on December 11 and 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN, husband of ANNE BRADEN, under a State Sedition Statute, testified that CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN were known to her as members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954, which was during the period of her, AHEARN's, CP membership.

NY [illegible]-148047

[redacted]

b7d

[redacted]

to [redacted] The indices of the NYO contain no reference

Based on information set forth in Bulet 9/1/64, and [illegible] information set forth above, it appears that the CPs [illegible] both the US and Russia are aware of the existance of t[illegible] SDS and would desire to use it for their own purp[illegible]cs. This is evidenced by the CP, USA's suggestion that [illegible]DS be included on the invitation list to attend the Worl[illegible] Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students scheduled to [illegible] held in Moscow on September 16-23, 1964; and further by [illegible] RUBIN's (former CP Youth Director) statement that the [illegible] E. B. DuBois Clubs of America [illegible] attract 300 members fro[illegible]DS members throughout the country; and further that LARR[illegible] GORDON, a CP member, believes that the CP, USA, could work [illegible]hrough SDS and achieve the aims of the [illegible].

SECRET

It is important to note that there has been no evidence that the CP, USA, has been successful in infiltrating the SDS or actually influencing the organization.

New York will continue their investigation in an attempt to identify PAUL POTTER, President of SDS, to determine if he is associated with the CP, USA, or any CP front organization.

[redacted] b7C

All informants mentioned in this communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

A copy of this letter is being furnished to Albany for information as set forth in Bulet to Albany dated 10/16/64. Two copies of this letter are being sent to Philadelphia for information as VERNON GRIZZARD is an Executive of SDS and may still be a student at Swarthmore College.

New York will submit another letter to the Bureau within 45 days with a recommendation whether the SDS should be investigated under the provisions set forth in Section 87E of the Manual of Instructions.

SECRET

1.

APPENDIX

WIS ONSIN SOCIALIST CLUB

On December 10, 1957, a source described the Wis nsin Socialist Club (WSC) as then a duly registered and uthorized student campus organization at the University of sconsin (UW) with a chapter membership of 21, inc ding MATTHEW CHAPPERON and RONALD RADOSH, who prior to e disaduition of the Labor Youth League (LYL) were pub cly known as officers of the UW chapter of the LYL. On vember 30, 1960, a source identified MATTHEW CHAPPERON as en a member of the State Committee of the Communist Par of Wisconsin (CPW).

On June 23, 1958, another source described the WSC s an organization founded primarily on principles clo ly allied with those of English socialists, with many of s members genuine socialists, but source observed the existed a pro-Marxist element in the club, including CHA ERON and RADOSH, which element had taken the lead in pol y-making functions of the WSC. On September 20, 1960, thi source reported that RADOSH and CHAPPERON had been ele ed president and secretary respectively, of the WSC for he 1960-1961 school year.

The September 25, 1962, issue of the "Daily Car nal," student organ at the UW, identified the 1962-196 officers of the WSC as JUDD GINSBERG, president; GEN DENNIS, vice president; DOUGLAS KORTY, treasurer; and LSIE CHANDLER, secretary. The "Daily Cardinal" iss of February 6, 1963, reported that JUDD GINSBERG had een suspended from the UW for reporting a false add ss in Madison to the UW and living in an apartment in olation of UW rules. Another source advised on Feb ary 20, 1963, that PAUL BREINES had taken over GI ERG's position as president of the WSC.

APPENDIX

PAUL BREINES' father was described by MARTIN DIES, of the US House of Representatives in 1941, as affi ted with organizations and publications which have been ited as Communist fronts. GENE DENNIS is the son of E ENE DENNIS, who at the time of his death [redacted] Febr y, 1961, was National Secretary of [redacted] USA. Anoth r source advised on July 25, 1950, that HERBERT S. CH NDLER, father of ELSIE CHANDLER, made contributions to th CPUSA and was "ideologically" close to the CPUSA.

Issues of the "Daily Cardinal" during the 1962-1963 hool year indicated that the WSC continued to funct n as a student campus organization, and during 1962- 63 sponsored off-campus speakers including HERBERT APTHE R, described by the "Daily Cardinal" as "leading spoke an for the American Communist Party," and DANNIEL RUBIN identified by another source in October, 1962, as Natio l Youth Director, CPUSA, and a member of the National Commi ee, CPUSA.

The Labor Youth League and the CPUSA have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted]

50

50

4-528

100-437048-50,51

CHANGED TO

100-437048-1-2
100-437048-5-3

MAR 3 1967

TRUE COPY

[redacted] b7C

Dec. 14. 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am looking for information and figure you could give me the answer. In a recent meeting there was a speaker representing the organization called "Students for Democratic Society," his name was Richard Rothstein, Chicago, Ill. he is supposed to go to school at the University of Chicago. He represents the poorer class of people, according to his statements What I would like to know, have you any record of this group; Students for Democratic Society any connections with a communist movement.

The reason I would like to know is, of late their has been so many riots by students in our University's. Give me the best information you can.

Respectfully

[redacted] b7C

P.S. If you can could you give me a list of the communist and communist organizations in the U.S. Thanks.

REC. 2 100-431044 52

DEC 22 1964

12-31-64 [redacted] b7C

12-18-64

[redacted] b7C

Dec. 19, 1964.

Dir. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am looking for information, and figure you could give me the answer. At a recent meeting there was a speaker representing the organization called "Students for Democratic Society". His name was Richard Rothstein, Chicago. He is supposed to go to school at the University of Chicago. He represents the foreign class of people, according to his statements. What I would like to know, does you have record of this group, "Students for Democratic Society" any connection with a communist concern?

The reason I would like to know is, of late there has been many visits by students on our University. Thank you for the best information you have.

Respectfully

[redacted] b7C

CORRESPONDENCE

mm (over)

1 TC

100-439048-52

December 21, 1964

[redacted] b7c

Dear [redacted] b7c

Your letter of December 14th has been received.

In response to your inquiry regarding Students for Democratic Society, I would like to advise that information contained in the files of the FBI is confidential and available only for official use in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice.

Enclosed is a list of organizations cited by the Department of Justice as subversive under Executive Order 10450. You may also be interested in securing a copy of "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" which is prepared and released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It lists groups and periodicals which have been cited by various state and Federal agencies and can be purchased for seventy cents from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. I am also enclosing other data regarding the general topic of communism I hope you will find informative.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 8
DEC 21 1964
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (9)
List of Subversive Organizations
Time Testing
The Battle Evil
Statement on Communism 7-15-62
Our Heritage of Greatness
SAW (3)

NOTE page 2.

DEC 21 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DEC 21 4 53 PM '64
MAILING ROOM

[redacted] b7C

NOTE: Bufiles reflect limited cordial correspondence with [redacted] b7C
The Bureau is currently conducting a preliminary inquiry regarding the Students for a Democratic Society under character of Information Concerning (Internal Security) to determine if any of the national officials of SDS have subversive affiliations. (100-439048)

TRUE COPY

[redacted] b7c

12-29-64

Dear Sir:

Will you please give me all the information you have on the Students for Democratic Society - College organization.

Respectfully,

[redacted] b7c

100-439048-53

1965

1-TC
1-4-65

DOR: 1-5-65
W.H.R.

COPY

[redacted]

[redacted] b7c

12-29-64

Dear Sir:

Will you please give me all the information you have on the Students for Democratic Society - College organization.

Respectfully,

[redacted] b7c

b7c

REC-9
100-439048-53

January 5, 1965

JAN 5 4 43 PM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

[redacted] b7C

Dear [redacted] b7C

Your letter of December 29th has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. In view of this, I am sure you will understand why I cannot comment concerning the Students for Democratic Society.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

FILED
JAN 5 - 1965
FBI-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent. The Bureau is currently conducting a preliminary inquiry regarding the Students for Democratic Society under character of Information Concerning (Internal Security) to determine if any of the national officials of SDS have subversive affiliations. (100-439048).

WAK:deh (3)

JAN 3 03 PM '65

67 JAN 13 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: January 13, 1965

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) [redacted]

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) [redacted]
IS - C

[redacted]

The Chicago Division will remain alert for any evidence of CP infiltration or control of the SDS in the Chicago area and will advise the Bureau if such information is obtained.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 9) (RM)
(- 100-441164) (W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)
3 - New York (Encls. 9) (RM)
(- 100-) (W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)
3 - Chicago
(- A)134-1635)
(- 100-40876) (DCA)

REC- 104 100-441164
REC- 57

EX 109

60 JAN 27 1965

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-441164-2

1/14/65

Airt

1 - Thompson

To: SAC, NFO

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

MARCH ON WASHINGTON
APRIL 17, 1965
SPONSORED BY STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Gen'l

Re NY airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 1/12/65.

Information contained in referenced letterhead memorandum and any additional information developed concerning this march should be furnished to the Metropolitan Police Department, the United States Park Police and the United States Capitol Police.

CWT:
(4)

REC-51 100-439048 X-55

EX-112

JAN 15 1965

MAILED 8
JAN 14 1965
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Conrad
Callahan
Casper
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Walters

20 JAN 2 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

CARBON COPY

FBI

Date: 1/15/65

Transmit the follo g in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : RECTOR, FBI (100-441164)

FROM: C, CHICAGO (100-40865)

W.E.B. BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)
IS - C
OO: SAN RANCISCO

CINAL

There are enclosed herewith for the Bureau 12 copies of a le erhead memorandum (LHM) reflecting information concerning he captioned organization and the Students for a Democra c.Society (SDS) and, in addition, information concern g a proposed demonstration to be held in Washington, D.C., d ing April, 1965, sponsored by the SDS with probably partici tion by Du Bois Clubs nationally. Appropriate copies of the M are enclosed for the offices listed below.

[redacted] b1

The files of the Chicago Division contain insufficient informa on to subversively characterize the SDS which is mention in the LHM. However, it should be noted that in a

(5) - Bur u (Enc. 12)(RM)
3 - New ork (Enc. 3)(RM)
1-1 - (STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY) G.N.L
3 - San rancisco (Enc.3) (100-52664)(RM)
1-1 - (STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)
3 - Wa ngton Field (Enc. 3)(RM)
1-1 - (STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)
6 - Ch go
1-1 34-1635
1-1 -40903 (SDS)
1-1 -32207 (CINAL)
1-1 -18957 (CP OF ILLINOIS-YOUTH MATTERS)
1-1 -18961 (CP OF ILLINOIS-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1-1 - (LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

RLS/ojl
(20)

100 - [illegible]
NOT RECORDED
133 JAN 21 1965

Approved 56 JAN 26 1965 Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent In Charge

CG 100-4

document [illegible]lished by the Political Education Project of the SDS, 119 [illegible]th Avenue, New York, New York, 10003, entitled GOLDWATER [illegible] THE PUBLIC RECORD, which was previously furnished to the Bu[illegible]u and the New York Division, it was stated therein that the S[illegible] is a non-profit, tax-exempt, educational organization and t[illegible]t the SDS is the student department of the League for Indus[illegible]al Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York, New York.

[illegible]e San Francisco, New York and Washington Field Offices are reque[illegible]d to contact informants in an effort to obtain any additiona[illegible] information regarding the before-mentioned demonstration and [illegible] additional information is obtained, advise the Bureau by [illegible]ppropriate communication.

[redacted]

b1

[illegible]his memorandum is classified "[redacted] to protect s[illegible]rce who is of continuing value, the disclosure of which wou[illegible] seriously jeopardize the internal security of the U.S.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party(CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 200 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through [illegible] struggle we feel the American people will realize the vi[illegible] of the socialist alternatives."

zation
or if
which
the par

convent
arily h
specifi
advised
this or
which i
Francis

vention

PHILIP
Avenue,

for the
elected
of the

newspa

The constitution further states that this new organi-
all be a membership organization open to individuals,
e or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed
ll in turn be guided by the policies and principles of
t organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding
n it was voted that the organization should be tempor-
dquartered in San Francisco, California, although no
physical location was decided upon. This same source
r June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarters of
nization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco,
the headquarters of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of San
.

Both sources have advised that at the founding con-
wo officers were elected:

PHILIP CHAPIN DAVIS, President, and
CARL ELLENGER BLOICE, Publications Chairman.

A third source has advised that on October 26, 1962,
VIS attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic
rkeley, California.

A fourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter
People's World" newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964,
o the newly organized San Francisco County Committee
.

The "People's World" is a West Coast communist
published weekly in San Francisco, California.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On July 1, 1964, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who had attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the National DCA.

Elected as its officers were THEODORE PEARSON, President and DON WEATHERALL, Vice President, both of whom are members of the Youth Club of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

The DCC does not have a headquarters in Chicago and is currently utilizing the address of its President, 1808 North Cleveland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, as a temporary headquarters.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the F.B.I. It is the property of the F.B.I. and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois
January 16, 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

Character

Reference Communication dated and captioned as above at Chicago, Illinois.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FD-36 (Rev. 10-2-

FBI

Date: 1/12/65

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON, APRIL 17, 1965,
SPONSORED BY STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies ~~of a~~ LHM in the above case.

An article in the "National Guardian" stated that the Students for a Democratic Society decided to hold a March on Washington April 17, 1965, to demand an end to the US intervention in the South Vietnam civil war. This decision was reached at the SDS annual meeting in NY, 12/28-31/64.

Inasmuch as this is a legitimate activity of the SDS the above captioned title was used.

ENCLOSURE

EX-100

REC-1 100-439048-56

22

JAN 18 1965

4-Bureau (ENCLS. 8) (RM)
(~~100-439048~~) (SDS)
1-NY 100-148047 (41)
1-MI (ENC. 1) (Info) (RM)
REC (57)

cc w/ encl. 810RB

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI
FAO
DATE FOR
HOW FORW:
BY:

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
January 12, 1965

Re: March on Washington, April 17, 1965,
Sponsored by Students for a Democratic
Society (SDS)

The "National Guardian" dated January 9, 1965,
on p e four, contained an article entitled, "Student March
to P test Vietnam War". The article contained the following
in p t:

"The Students for a Democratic Society will sponsor
a St ent March on Washington April 17 to demand an end to U.S.
inte ention in the South Vietnam civil war. This was the major
deci on taken by more than 300 SDS National Council delegates,
memb s and observers at the Council's annual meeting in
New rk Dec. 28-31. While SDS will be the sole sponsor of
the rch, which it hopes will rival the 1962 demonstration
by 1 000 students in protest against nuclear testing, it
invi d support from all groups and individuals opposed to
U.S. ntervention in Vietnam.

"Organizations wishing to join the April 17 March
on W hington to protest the war in Vietnam were advised to
desi ate a liaison person and write directly to SDS, 119
Fift Ave., New York.

"It was announced at the New York meeting that SDS,
foun d in 1905 as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, had
grow from 200 members in 1960 to more than 1,400 today. It
has apters on 41 campuses and cities, mainly in the East,
and organizing 20 others. It is the largest student
orga ation on the left, followed by the recently organized
DuBo Clubs, which claim about 800 members.

"The SDS constitution describes it as a group of
'lib als and radicals, activists and scholars, students and
facu y' united to work toward a society in which 'the people
have on trol of the decisions that affect them and the resources

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

Mar on Washington, April 17, 1965,
Spo red by Students for a Democratic
Soc ty

on ich they are dependent.' As an affiliate of the
Soc list Party-oriented League for Industrial Democracy,
it s from membership any 'advocates or apologists'
for totalitarian principles' and it proposes a radical
pro m 'counterposed to authoritarian movements, both of
Com ism and the domestic Right.' But SDS in recent years
has ved away from a sectarian approach and toward the
'Ne eft.'..."

Characterizations of the "National Guardian" and W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America are contained in the Appendix of this memorandum.

Mar[illegible] on Washington, April 17, 1965,
Spo[illegible]ored by Students for a Democratic
Soc[illegible]y

1.

APPENDIX

"N[illegible]IONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Pu[illegible]ications," revised and published as of December 1, 19[illegible], prepared and released by the Committee on Un-Am[illegible]ican Activities, United States House of Represent-at[illegible]es, Washington, D.C., contains the following con-cer[illegible]ing the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

"1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

Marc on Washington, April 17, 1965,
Spon red by Students for a Democratic
Soci y

1.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a confere e of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national nctionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose o setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new nat nal Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for e most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates o this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-S iet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told hat it would be reasonable to assume that the young soci lists attracted into this new organization would eventuall pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago o December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" the new youth organization and planning for a founding nvention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America wa adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of th organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constituti n, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its roblems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete d sarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united fforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed e entially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes nd other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize t the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the ist and right wing forces in coalition with the most react nary sections of the economic power structure, using the ol of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified st ggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat ese reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve co lete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabli g each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel th American people will realize the viability of the social t alternatives."

March n Washington, April 17, 1965,
Sponsed by Students for a Democratic
Societ

2.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

he constitution further states that this new organizat n shall be a membership organization open to individua , or if five or more people so desire a chapter can be fo ed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and princ les of the parent organization.

e second source has also advised that at the foundi ng c nvention it was voted that the organization should be tempora ily headquartered in San Francisco, California, although n specific physical location was decided upon. This same ource advised on June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarte s of this organization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Franci o, which is the headquarters of the W.E.B. DuBois Club of Sa Francisco.

th sources have advised that at the founding convention wo officers were elected:

ILIP CHAPIN DAVIS - President
RL ELLENGER BLOICE - Publications Chairman

third source has advised that on October 26, 1962, PHIL DAVIS attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic venue, Berkeley, California.

ourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter f the "People's World" newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964, elec d to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee the CP.

"People's World" is a west coast communist newspaper lished weekly in San Francisco, California.

The Acting Attorney General

January 21, 1965

Director, FBI

1 - Belmont
1 - Mohr
1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - [redacted]

MARCH ON WASHINGTON
APRIL 17, 1965
SPONSORED BY STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The following information is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The "National Guardian," a weekly newspaper which is published in New York City and has been described as "virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia," issue of January 9, 1965, contained an article which indicated that the Students for a Democratic Society will sponsor a Student March on Washington on April 17, 1965. The purpose of this demonstration is to protest United States intervention in Vietnam. Organizations wishing to join the March were requested to communicate with the Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

According to the aforementioned article, the Students for a Democratic Society, which was organized in 1960 as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, presently has a membership of more than 1,400 members with chapters on college campuses. Its constitution describes it as a group of "liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty, united to work toward a society in which the people have control of the decisions that affect them and the resources on which they are dependent." The organization bars from membership any "advocates or apologists for totalitarian principles" and it proposes a radical program "counterposed to authoritarian movements, both of Communism and the domestic Right."

This information is also being furnished to the White House and other interested Government agencies.

100-339048 - 56

1 - The Deputy Attorney General
1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

CWB:gb (11)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 2
JAN 21 1965
COMM-FBI

20 JAN 21 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

The Acting Attorney General

NOTE

The Office of Naval Intelligence, Office of Special Investigations, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Secret Service and the State Department have been furnished the information contained in this letter. WFO has been instructed to furnish the information to the Metropolitan Police Department, U. S. Park Police and the U. S. Capitol Police. The New York Office is presently conducting an investigation to determine whether any Communist infiltration of Students for a Democratic Society exists.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: 1/20/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReNYlet to the Bureau, 12/2/64.

Bureau letter to NY, 9/1/64, requested NY to identify personnel of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the National Office including the officers of the organization and to determine if any of these individuals have any affiliation with subversive organizations. NY is also requested to make a recommendation as to whether the SDS should be investigated under the provisions set forth in Section 87E of the Manual of Instructions.

[redacted] b7d

[redacted] b7d

made available a summary of the proceedings of the SDS Convention held June 14 - 17, 1963, at Camp Gullivers, Pine Hill, New York.

(2-Bureau (RM)
2-Cleveland (RM)
1-New York

REC-16 100-439048-57

JAN 22 1965

REC:mm
(3)

68 JAN 29 1965

The above information contained the name PAUL POTTER, Charlotte, Michigan, who stated he was the National Office Vice-President of the National Student Association and a member of the Voice Chapter of SDS.

Detroit letter to the Bureau dated 11/4/63, stated that the Detroit Office could furnish no identifiable information concerning PAUL POTTER.

[redacted] b7d

Furnished information that PAUL POTTER of Cleveland, Ohio, was national head or president of the SDS.

The files of the NYO contain no additional information regarding PAUL POTTER.

"National Guardian" issue, 1/9/65, page 4, stated that the SDS would sponsor a March on Washington 4/17/65, to demand the end to US intervention in the South Vietnam Civil War. This action was decided at the SDS National Council meeting 12/28 - 31/64, held in NYC.

LEADS

CLEVELAND

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO. Cleveland is requested o furnish NY with any information contained in heir files to properly characterize PAUL POTTER.

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Upon receipt of he information from Cleveland, NY will make a ecommendation whether the SDS should be investigated nder the provisions as set forth in Section 87E of he Manual of Instructions.

January 21, 1965

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Rosenkardner
1 [redacted]

Honorable Bill D. Moyers
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

The following information is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

The "National Guardian," a weekly newspaper which is published in New York City and has been described as "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia," issue of January 9, 1965, contained an article which indicated that the Students for a Democratic Society will sponsor a Student March on Washington on April 17, 1965. The purpose of this demonstration is to protest United States intervention in Vietnam. Organizations wishing to join the March were requested to communicate with the Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

According to the aforementioned article, the Students for a Democratic Society, which was organized in 1905 as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, presently has a membership of more than 1,400 members with chapters on 41 college campuses. Its constitution describes it as a group of "liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty, united to work toward a society in which the people have control of the decisions that affect them and the resources on which they are dependent." The organization bars from membership any "advocates or apologists

100-439045-58

JAN 25 1965

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

Tpdb
(8)

TELETYPE UNIT

50 JAN 28 1965

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

"for totalitarian principles" and it proposes a radical program "counter-posed to authoritarian movements, both of Communism and the domestic Right."

This information is also being furnished to the Acting Attorney General, other interested officials of the Department of Justice and to other Government agencies.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

By separate letter, the Acting Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley are being furnished this information. Dissemination of this information has been made to the Office of Naval Intelligence, Office of Special Investigations, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, the State Department and the Secret Service. WFO is being instructed to furnish this information to the Metropolitan Police Department, the United States Park Police and the United States Capitol Police. The New York Office is presently conducting an investigation to determine whether any communist infiltration of Students for a Democratic Society exists.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/20/65

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (157-1608) (C)

SUBJECT: NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, aka
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Newark airtel and LHM dated 10/16/64 to Bureau.
Newark airtel dated 11/12/64 to Bureau.

[redacted] b7d

that [redacted] 1/13/65 a small group of persons active in the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT (NCUP) who are concerned about the motives of students representing the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), who are active in the NCUP, had met with the Police Director of Newark, N.J., DOMINICK SPINA. These persons briefed SPINA on the NCUP and persons involved. [redacted] b7d

[redacted] b7d

[redacted] further advised that the SDS is holding a conference at Cleveland, Ohio, on 2/20-21/65 concerning all projects in which it is engaged. Non-SDS members who are involved in these projects on which SDS is working are invited to attend the conference at Cleveland. b7d

2-Bureau (RM)
(1-[redacted]) (SDS)
(1-[redacted]) (POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS)
1-Cleveland (Info.) (RM)
1-Newark
(1-[redacted]-47873) (SDS)
(1-[redacted]-1611) (POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS)
(1-[redacted]) b7d
NWC:jl

FEB 2 1965

FEB 1 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NK 15 1608

No characterization available for SDS or NCUP.

Copy furnished to Cleveland for information concerning SDS conference to be held there. Cleveland has not received referenced communications.

FBI FBI FBI FBI

38 (Rev. 11-13-56)

FBI

Date: 1/25/65

(Type in plain text or code)

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

ransmit the following

AIRTEL

TO : DIRE R, FBI (100-443127)

FROM: SAC, HICAGO (100-39108)

THE UNITED TES FESTIVAL
COMMITTEE
IS - C

Re let to Albany, dated 1/12/65, with copies to all offices.

10 DCF

[redacted]

b1

6 - Bureau (Enc. 15)(RM)
1-100-4 64 (DCA)
1-100- (STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)
1-100-43 54 (NINTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
4 - New York (Enc. 4)(RM)
1-100- (NINTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
1-100- (SDS)
1-100- (DCA)
4 - San Fran sco (Enc. 4)(RM)
1-100- (NINTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
1-100- (SDS)
1-100-5 4 (DCA)
6 - Chicago
(4)134- 35
1-100-41 5 (NINTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
1-100-40 5 (DCA)
1-100-40 3 (SDS)

S.D.S
Genl

100-439014

NOT RECORDED
174 FEB 1965

ELS:mec
(20)

[redacted] b7c

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-443127-3

INV

CG 100-3910

[redacted]

sufficient files of the Chicago Office do not contain information to subversively characterize the SDS.

[redacted]

This LHM is classified [redacted] to protect source who is of continuing value, the disclosure of which could seriously jeopardize the internal security of the U.S.

[redacted]

APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On July 1, 1964, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who had attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the National DCA.

Elected as its officers were THEODORE PEARSON, President and DON WEATHERALL, Vice President, both of whom are members of the Youth Club of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

The DCC does not have a headquarters in Chicago and is currently utilizing the address of its President, 1808 North Cleveland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, as a temporary headquarters.

APPENDIX

[redacted]

APPENDIX

W.E.B. [illegible] BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a confere[illegible]e of members of the Communist Party(CP), including nationa[illegible] functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of sett[illegible]g in motion forces for the establishment of a new nationa[illegible] Marxist oriented youth organization which would hunt for the [illegible]ost peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this me[illegible]ing were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP [illegible]deologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reas[illegible]able to assume that the young socialists attracted into this ne[illegible] organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on Dece[illegible]er 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the [illegible]w youth organization and planning for a founding convention[illegible]o be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the [illegible]w youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Gol[illegible]n Gate Avenue. San Francisco, California, at which time the nam[illegible] W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately [illegible]0 delegates from throughout the United States attended this co[illegible]ention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the pre[illegible]ble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation [illegible]n best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexist[illegible]ce, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the [illegible]rld, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through [illegible]e united efforts of all democratic elements in our country [illegible]omposed essentially of the working people allied in the uni[illegible] of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further[illegible]ully recognize that the greatest threat to American democra[illegible] comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with th[illegible]ost reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using t[illegible] tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggl[illegible]f the working people. As young people in the forces struggl[illegible]g for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these [illegible]ctio[illegible]y and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom[illegible]d democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individ[illegible]l to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live[illegible]n. Through the struggles we feel the American people will r[illegible]ze the vi[illegible] of the socialist alternatives."

CONFIDENTIAL

The constitution further states that this new organi-
zation all be a membership organization open to individuals,
or if f e or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed
which s ll in turn be guided by the policies and principles of
the par t organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding
convent n it was voted that the organization should be tempor-
arily h dquartered in San Francisco, California, although no
specifi physical location was decided upon. This same source
advised n June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarters of
this or nization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco,
which i the headquarters of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of San
Francis .

Both sources have advised that at the founding con-
vention wo officers were elected:

PHILIP CHAPIN DAVIS, President, and
CARL ELLENGER BLOICE, Publications Chairman.

A third source has advised that on October 26, 1962,
PHILIP VIS attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic
Avenue, erkeley, California.

A fourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter
for the People's World" newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964,
elected o the newly organized San Francisco County Committee
of the .

The "People's World" is a West Coast communist
newspap published weekly in San Francisco, California.

APPENDIX

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois

January 28, 1965

Title: THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Reference: Communication dated and captioned as above at Chicago, Illinois.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 1/28/65

nsmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443127)

M: SAC, NEW YORK (100-154378)

JECT: THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE
IS - C
(OO:NY)

ReBulet, 1/12/65 to Albany with copies
all offices.

Bureau (100-443127)(Encl. 15)(RM)
(1 - 100-441164)(DCA)
(1 - 100-)(STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)
(1 - 100-439754)(NINTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
San Francisco (Encls. 4)(RM)
(1 - 100-)(SDS)
(1 - 100-52664)(DCA)
(1 - [redacted] b7c
New York (100-151987)(DCA)(42)
New York (100-148040)(SDS)(41)
w York (100-150250)(NINTH WYF)
New York

bca

100-439048
NOT RECORDED
128 FEB 2 1965

oved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ENCLOSURE

CARBON Cont

FEB 4 1965

EX-101

100-154578

[redacted] b1

[redacted] b1

The LHM is classified [redacted] because unauthorized disclosure of the information could result in the identity of these source; and could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interest of the country.

A characterization of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is not available in the NYO.

[redacted] and other sources in the NYO have been alerted to furnish any further details concerning the founding of the United States Festival Committee and when further information is available the Bureau will be advised.

1.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

2.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding convention it was voted that the organization should be temporarily headquartered in San Francisco, California, although no specific physical location was decided upon. This same source advised on June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarters of this organization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco, which is the headquarters of the W.E.B. DuBois Club of San Francisco.

Both sources have advised that at the founding convention two officers were elected:

PHILIP CHAPIN DAVIS - President
CARL ELLENGER BLOICE - Publications Chairman

A third source has advised that on October 26, 1964, PHILIP DAVIS attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

A fourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter for the "People's World" newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

The "People's World" is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-2

FBI

Date: 2/1/65

Transmit the fo ng in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRT AIRMAIL
(Priority)

[redacted]

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-NEW)

STUDE S FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY Gen'l

IS -

[redacted]

Further information, when available, will be dissem nated to the Bureau and interested offices.

- B au (RM)
3 - N York (RM)
3 - W (RM)
1 - S Louis
SJP/r
(11)

REC- 99 100-439048-59

[redacted]

EX-114

16 FEB 2 1965

[redacted]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: C. Sullivan

FROM: J. Baumgardner

DATE: 2-1-65

1 - [illegible]nt
1 - Sullivan

1 - Baumgardner
1 - [redacted]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The SDS presently has a membership of more than 1400 members with chapters on 41 college campuses. It is the successor to an organization named the Intercollegiate Socialist Society which was organized in 1905. The SDS constitution describes it as a group of "liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty, united to work toward a society in which the people have control of decisions that affect them and the resources on which they are dependent." The organization bars from membership any "advocates or apologists for totalitarian principles" and it proposes a radical program "opposed to authoritarian movements both of communism and the domestic right." (New York airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 1-1[illegible]5.)

[redacted]

Previous investigation of this organization has been limited to the identification of the national officers of the SDS and indices check on these individuals.

ACTION:

New York [illegible] is recommended that the attached airtel which instructs [illegible] institute a cominfil investigation of the SDS be approved.

Enclosure [illegible]

CWT:pd[illegible]
(5)

REC-64 100-439048-60

FEB [illegible] 1965

CONFIDENTIAL

INDEXED

048

2-2-65

Airtel

1 - Belmont
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 [redacted]

To: SACs, New York (100-148047)
Chicago

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

REC-54

60

COMMUNI INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT OR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - C

ReNYlet 1-20-65.

[redacted]

SDS is
to im
accord
Manual
Instructions.

Inasmuch as the foregoing information indicates that the
target for communist infiltration, New York is instructed
ately institute an investigation of this organization in
e with instructions contained in Section 87E of the
Instructions. A report should be submitted to reach

MAILED 8
FEB 1965
COMM-FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

TELETYPE UNIT

1965

Airtel SACs, New York
Chicago

Re: [illegible]UNIST INFILTRATION OF
[illegible]NTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
100-4[illegible]8

The Bu[illegible]u within 45 days from the date of this communication. Chicag[illegible]mmediately furnish any additional information developed to New [illegible]rk and the Bureau together with recommendations for instit[illegible]ng a ominfil investigation of the SDS in the Chicago Divisi[illegible]

NOTE:

See cover memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan, dated [illegible]/65, same caption, prepared by CWT:pdb.